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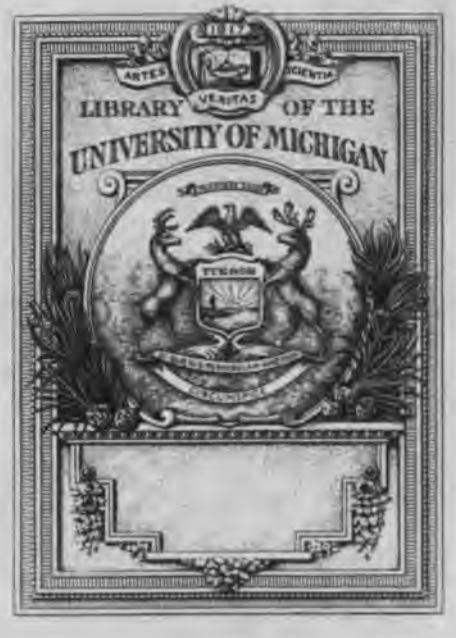
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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

NEW-YORK

HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1814.

VOLUME II.

Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY VAN WINKLE AND WILEY,

Corner of Wall and New-streets.

1814.

District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the twenty-seventh day of May, in the thirty-
L. S. eighth year of the Independence of the United States of America, David Hosack, John Pintard, and John W. Francis, of the said District, have deposited in this Office the title of a Book, the right whereof they claim as Proprietors, in the words and figures following, to wit;

"Collections of the New-York Historical Society, for the year 1814. Volume II. Hæc "olim meminisse juvabit."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books to the Authors and proprietors, of such copies during the times therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled, "An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other Prints."

THERON RUDD,
Clerk of the District Court for the District of New-York.

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CATALOGUE of the Books, Tracts, Newspapers, Maps, Charts, Views, Portraits, and Manuscripts in the Library of the New-York Historical Society.

PREFACE.

CIRCUMSTANCES, not within control, have retarded the appearance of this second volume of the Collections of the New-York Historical Society. The publication of the Anniversary Discourses, which have been regularly delivered before the Society, renders the present volume less miscellaneous than what the future will be. The Society possesses ample resources, as well in manuscript as print, extremely rare and interesting, the publication of which must depend on that patronage which these Collections may receive. With the growing taste for literature and science, so rapidly advancing in the United States, it is reasonably expected that a laudable curiosity will be directed towards the study of our national history, and that liberal encouragement will be extended to invigorate the efforts of the Society in rescuing from oblivion documents, which must constitute the materials for the use of the future historian. Of such is the narrative of De La Salle's expedition and discoveries, by the Chevalier Tonti, translated and published in London in 1698: A very scarce work, and which furnishes the best account extant of the fate of this enterprising but unfortunate discoverer. De La Salle was the first European who, towards the close of the seventeenth century, by pursuing the course of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, descended the waters of the Mississippi to their discharge into the gulf of Mexico, where he arrived on the seventh of April, 1683. The particulars of this voyage, though partaking of the narrator's embellish-

ments, appear to be accurately described. The catastrophe that befel this bold adventurer has always excited peculiar interest.—The extract of a manuscript "translation of the History of New Sweed Land, in America, written in Sweed by Thomas Campanius Holm, and printed at Stockholm in 1702," was communicated to the Society by James Mease, of Philadelphia, M. D. F. A. P. S. an honorary member. The greatest fidelity has been observed in preserving the orthography and proper names of the MS. the contents of which impart considerable information respecting this short-lived colony and its reduction by our Dutch forefathers under Governor Stuyvesant.

The Catalogue of our Library has been annexed to this volume in order to defray, at the smallest possible expense, the charges of its publication. To the Rev. Mr. Timothy Alden, a worthy honorary member, but a transient visitor to this city, the Society is essentially indebted for his laborious services and assiduity in preparing this important work, which may be recommended as a model for all similar compilations. Since its publication considerable additions and liberal contributions have been made to the Library, of which a supplementary catalogue shall hereafter be given.

The perpetuity of this Society has been secured by the generous patronage of the Legislature of this State, who have endowed it with a grant of *twelve thousand dollars*. The munificent appropriations towards the encouragement and support of science and literature made by this enlightened body, during its last session, redound as much to the honour, as it must promote the best interests of this state. These beneficent grants merit particular enumeration.

To Union College Schenectady,		
For the College buildings	100,000	
Payment of a debt	80,000	
A Library and Philosophical Apparatus	20,000	
Gratuitous education	50,000	
		200,000

Amount brought forward	200,000
To Columbia College in this city,	
The Botanic Garden containing twenty acres, within two miles and a half of the settled part of the city, which may be estimated, at the present depressed state of property, at	60,000
To Hamilton College, Oneida county	40,000
To the College of Physicians and Surgeons in this city	30,000
To the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the western district, a right to subscribe for the shares belonging to the State in the Bank of Utica, estimated at	10,000
To the New-York Historical Society	12,000
Tota,	$352,000

A sum, probably exceeding any grants ever made for scientific and literary purposes, in one year, by the United States collectively.

The Legislature have likewise directed that a copy of the Laws and Journals of this State shall be regularly furnished to the Society. Congress have also provided that a copy of the Laws and Journals of the Senate, House of Representatives and other public documents published each session, be reported in the Society's Library.

The NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, thus patronized, will remit no efforts to fulfil the high expectation that has been raised of its utility, and will endeavour to remunerate, as far as depends on their zeal and activity in the diffusion of useful knowledge, these instances of public munificence.

In conjunction with the New-York Society Library, the Academy of Arts, and the Literary and Philosophical Society of New-York, the Society has recently applied to the Corporation of this city for the use of such of the public buildings, which in consequence of the improvements at Bellevue, may no longer be required for municipal purposes. Every reasonable indulgence is to be expected from the liberality of so patriotic a body as the Common Council, whose unceasing exertions to improve and embellish our city

are so eminently displayed, from that splendid edifice, the new City Hall, the pride and boast of New-York, to the extensive establishments at Bellevue for the relief and comfort of honest indigence, for the correction of vice, and improvement of morals. Should we succeed in obtaining a local habitation, the Society will be emulous of acquiring and sustaining an honourable name.

NEW-YORK, MAY 18, 1814.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Society.

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

January 11, 1814.

Resolved, That application be made to the legislature of this state, at the present session, for their patronage of this society, and that Mr. CLINTON, Vice President, be appointed to draft the memorial.

Pursuant to this resolution, Mr. CLINTON prepared the following memorial which was presented to the legislature:

To the honourable the Legislature of the State of New-York, the Memorial of the New-York Historical Society

MOST RESPECTFULLY REPRESENTS,

THAT this institution was established for the purpose of acquiring and promoting a knowledge of the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of America, and more particularly of this state. The attainment of objects so various, comprehensive, and important, requiring such extensiveness of information, such profundity of research, such exertion of industry, and such liberality of expense, is unquestionably beyond the means and the faculties of any individual, however he may be endowed with the gifts of fortune and genius, and whatever may be the extent of his enterprise, activity, and influence. Associations, comprehending a mass of information and talent, and embracing not only the disposition, but the ability, to promote knowledge, are essentially necessary to crown with success any important undertaking of this nature. With these motives, and for these objects,

this society was formed. A liberal and enlightened legislature, justly appreciating its importance, granted it a charter of incorporation, and it now only remains for them to complete the important work which has received their approving voice, by an extension to this society of a portion of that munificence which, we are proud to say, characterizes the legislature of this state.

During the short period of the existence of this society, we have devoted no inconsiderable portion of time, attention, and money, to collect books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, medals, and other materials which may tend to illustrate and complete the great outlines of our history. This collection, on account of the number, the variety, and the rarity of its objects, may be safely valued at ten thousand dollars. If in the infant state of the society, without public patronage, and without any other excitement than a desire to be useful, as humble contributors to the great stock of human knowledge, we have been able to accomplish so much, what might we not effect if public bounty should be united with individual contribution, and if the countenance of the legislature should stamp a value upon our researches, and enable us to dispel the clouds which envelop the history of our country.

It is well known to your honourable body, that America has been settled principally by the English, the Dutch, the French, the Spaniards, and the Portuguese. The Swedes at one period planted a colony on the Delaware. The Danes also have occupied islands in the West Indies; and several islands between Asia and America derive their population from Russia and its dependencies. How important, and how necessary is it to procure the books which have been written in those countries illustrative of the affairs of America. It is well known that many manuscripts are buried in the archives of state, or in the libraries of public bodies, which might be transcribed, and which would shed new light on our history. The Bibliotheca Americana, pub-

lished in England, imperfect as it is, indicates what invaluable and unexplored treasures for our historians may be obtained in that country.

But we would beg leave to solicit the attention of the legislature more particularly to the history of this state. It is unnecessary to descant upon the imperfections of its natural history. Whole departments of this science have been almost entirely neglected; the powers of observation and investigation have not been applied to elucidate and explore them; the destructive hand of time is rapidly sweeping into oblivion many important objects of inquiry; and what might now with facility be rescued from oblivion, the flight of a few years will place beyond the reach of human power.

The civil history of this state may be divided into four parts:

1. When occupied by the aborigines.
2. When under the government of the Dutch, which was about half a century.
3. Its state under England, which continued about one hundred and twelve years, and which includes the proprietary government of the Duke of York, and its government under the kings of Great Britain, excepting about sixteen months, when it was repossessed by the Dutch.
4. And, lastly, its political existence as a member of an independent government.

Before the lapse of many years, the remnant of the Indian nations which now inhabit the state will experience the fate of all sublunary things. The few antiquities of the country; the forts and the tumuli, which may now be easily explored, will be effaced by the extension of cultivation. The natural history of the man of America, disfigured and perverted as he has been by European intercourse, may still be obtained to a considerable extent; his language may be put on record, and his traditions may be perpetuated.

As before the revolution, the colonies of France and Great Britain were connected by vicinity, by treaty, by trade, and by continual and habitual intercourse with the five nations, and other Indians which occupied this state, we can obtain valuable materials to illustrate this important period, from the libraries and public collections of those countries: many learned, elaborate, and interesting works have never been seen in America; some are so scarce that they cannot be procured without the expense of transcribing; and papers of great moment have never been printed.

The regular minutes of the transactions of the Indian commissioners for this colony, from 1675 to 1751, as kept by a secretary employed for the purpose, were bound up in four large folio volumes. This invaluable collection, and the subsequent colonial records relative to Indian affairs, are not now to be found in this state; and they were probably conveyed away by Sir John Johnson, or his agents, at the commencement of the revolution. The loss of these documents would produce a chasm in our history that could not be supplied; and we hope that they may still be retrieved. Our concerns and negotiations with the Indians, since our existence as a state, have not been preserved in regular and complete order. They are scattered among the bureaus of our chief magistrates, or are buried in the voluminous files of the legislature.

To obtain materials for the Dutch portion of our history, comprising an interesting period of half a century, we must have recourse to the papers of the Dutch West-India Company, and to the archives of the then government of that nation; to the Dutch records of some of our counties, and in the office of the secretary of state; to the public offices in the neighbouring colonies with whose governments the Dutch had negotiations; and to several books published in the Dutch and Latin languages, relative to this country, and which are scarcely known to us. The darkness which hangs

over this branch, may be perceived in the History of New-York, written by William Smith, a work which skims lightly over this interesting period, leaving it almost entirely unnoticed.

To supply that part of our history when we were subject to Great Britain, the most valuable materials may be obtained from various sources. From Chalmers' Political Annals it appears, that there are many manuscripts in the Plantation Office, entitled New York Entries, and New-York Papers. We find, in the catalogue of manuscripts preserved in the British Museum, some writings that refer particularly to this state; and in the catalogue of books belonging to that institution, are preserved many works concerning America, in the Dutch, English, French, Spanish, and Latin languages, affording a fund of information important and inestimable. We also know that there are many interesting books and manuscripts, relative to this country, in the library of the society for the propagation of the gospel in America; and perhaps much important information may be obtained from the public offices in Canada.

The history of our country since the commencement of the revolutionary war, is in a better state of preservation: but even here how many interesting events are passing into oblivion; how many important facts are distorted and misrepresented, how many illustrious achievements are forgotten or neglected. Documents that may illuminate the obscure, explain the doubtful, and embalm the memories of the good and the great, may now be drawn from their dark abodes, where in a few years they will be forgotten or lost. Letters of distinguished individuals, fugitive pamphlets, perishable manuscripts, ought now to be obtained and preserved. The time is precious, and not a moment should be lost.

The only history of this member of the confederacy is that of William Smith, which is brought down to the year

1732. Is it too much to say, that the most important is the worst or least described part of the union?

Anxious as we are to explore these sources of intelligence, and to collect these ample materials, yet we feel that the want of funds presents an obstacle that can only be surmounted by the liberality and public spirit of the legislature. We have done much, and we are willing to do more, in order to preserve the history of the state from oblivion. We are influenced by no other motive than that of elevating the character, and promoting the prosperity of a community, to which we are bound by every tie that is deemed precious and sacred among men: And let it not be said that the exigencies of the times, and the pressure of a foreign war, render it inexpedient to apply the public bounty to this object. The state is rich in funds, rich in credit, and rich in resources; and she ought to be rich in liberality and public spirit. Genuine greatness never appears in a more resplendent light, or in a more sublime attitude, than in that buoyancy of character which rises superior to danger and difficulty; in that magnanimity of soul which cultivates the arts and sciences amidst the horrors of war, and in that comprehension of mind which cherishes all the cardinal interests of a country, without being distracted or diverted by the most appalling considerations.

We, therefore, most respectfully solicit the favourable notice of the legislature, and we confidently hope that the result will be auspicious to the interests of literature, and to the honour of our country.

New-York, January, 1814.

The legislature, with that liberality which so eminently distinguishes and honours the state of New-York, passed the

following acts, at their late session, in favour of this society.

Extract from the act, entitled "An Act instituting a Lottery for the promotion of Literature, and for other purposes," passed April 13, 1814.

SEC. 10. "And be it further enacted, that it shall be the duty of the secretary of this state to transmit to the New-York Historical Society, a set of the revised laws, and also of the journals of the present and future sessions of the legislature; and that the said society may, by their agent or agents, have access, at all reasonable times, to the secretary's office and the other public offices of this state, and may cause such documents or records to be copied, without paying office fees, as they may judge proper to promote the objects of the said institution."

State of New-York,
Secretary's Office,

I certify the preceding to be a true extract.—April 29, 1814.

ARCH'D CAMPBELL,
Dep. Secretary.

Extract from the act, entitled "An Act for the payment of certain officers of government, and for other purposes," passed April 15, 1814.

SEC. 51. "And be it further enacted, that the managers to be appointed in compliance with the act, entitled "An Act instituting a lottery for the promotion of literature and for other purposes," after the payments are completed according to the several provisions contained in said act, be, and hereby are directed to raise the additional sum of twelve thousand dollars, in the manner directed in and by the aforesaid act, which sum, when so raised, shall be paid to the

Historical Society, in the city of New-York, for the purpose of procuring books, manuscripts, and other materials, to illustrate the natural, literary, civil, and ecclesiastical history of America."

State of New-York,
Secretary's Office.

I certify the preceding to be a true extract.—April 22, 1814.

ARCH'D CAMPBELL,
Dep. Secretary.

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A

DISCOURSE

ON

THE BENEFITS OF CIVIL HISTORY:

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

DECEMBER 6, 1810.

BY HUGH WILLIAMSON, M. D. LL. D.

A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

December 6, 1810.

RESOLVED, *that the thanks of this Society be presented to Doctor* HUGH WILLIAMSON, *for the Discourse delivered by him this day before this Society; and that the Rev. Doctor* MILLER, *Doctor* DAVID HOSACK, *and Mr.* PINTARD, *be a committee to impart this Resolution, and request a copy for publication.*

Extract from the minutes,

JOHN PINTARD,
Recording Secretary.

A

DISCOURSE, &c.

Gentlemen of the Historical Society,

A SOCIETY formed for the purpose of preserving the history of a nation, while that nation is yet in its infancy, is certainly to be classed among the institutions of modern times. It is not recommended by the practice of our ancestors, or by the venerable rust of antiquity. The several nations who have come into existence, at different periods, on the face of the earth, may have been, for aught they are enabled to tell us, AUTOCHTHONI. They may have sprung from the earth, as the Grecians boasted of themselves; for their origin is sunk in the dark vale of forgetfulness. It was not, as I conceive, that many of the existing nations originated, like the ancient inhabitants of Rome, from a set of robbers, who for that reason had no desire to speak of their ancestors; nor is it clear that the original settlers of every country were unacquainted with letters, and for that reason could not preserve their history; though that in many instances was doubtless the case. It can hardly be questioned, that the sons of Noah possessed a high degree of knowledge. The Chinese and Hindoos at present seem to possess little else than the fragments of their learning. But knowledge at first was chiefly trusted to the memory; and it was safely trusted in that manner when the duration of life was eight or

nine hundred years. It followed, that when the posterity of Noah began to separate into small families, and settle in a wilderness; and when those families increasing, made war upon one another, a circumstance that caused new dispersions, (the duration of life in every succeeding generation becoming shorter and shorter,) tradition must have failed, knowledge disappeared, and the several nations on the face of the earth, in a few ages, became nearly savage. This abbreviation of human life, and a a similar decay of memory, made the art of writing necessary; but before that practice became general, the origin of nations was forgotten.

Our ancestors, and the several nations who have grown up and perished, had no idea of the importance of civil history; they did not perceive that it might serve as one of the best lights to posterity. If the first settlers in every region, when civil government was instituted, have neglected to preserve the history of early occurrences, their descendants, in sundry cases, have made ample amends. They have not only gone back to the very beginning of the nation, but they have gone many a thousand years beyond it.

The oldest credible history of any nation, that has descended to us, is the history of the family of Abraham. That history was written a little more than thirty-three hundred years ago, and is so well supported by collateral circumstances, that it cannot be disputed. The oldest history of any other nation, that has the semblance of truth, is the history of the Grecians by Herodotus. That history was written a little more than twenty-two hundred years ago. When I speak of the oldest history that bears the appearance of truth, it is not to be understood that some nations have not the history of older times than either of the people mentioned. The Chinese, the Egyptians, and the Hindoos, de-

duce their history from an earlier period. They have claims to great antiquity. The Chinese have a chronology of princes that extends back to the great Fo-hi, who stands at the head of their race. He lived many centuries before the flood of Noah. His origin was somewhat miraculous; for, like the Trojan Eneas, he was the son of a goddess. That celestial personage, walking on the bank of a river, was encircled by a rainbow, and after twelve years, she was delivered of a son. This son of a rainbow, from whom a long race of princes descended, was not so kind as to enlighten the world by any marks of his wisdom. But as Confucius himself, the great Chinese legislator, confesses, that for want of evidence, he could give no certain account of his nation beyond three thousand years, which carries their history back to the birth of Noah, all pretences of Chinese historians to greater antiquity, are doubtless the pure effect of vanity. When confucius mentions three thousand years as the duration of the empire, he seems to have used a round number, that was nearly correct: for Noah was born about two thousand five hundred years before the age of Confucius. There are many reasons for believing, that Noah, about one hundred and fifty years after the flood, removed from Persia to China, of which he became the first patriarch, or emperor; and the fabulous history of the Chinese writers, makes this opinion nearly certain. When they tell us, dealing in wonders, that their first emperor was the son of a rainbow, they must have borrowed the fable from the circumstance of that emperor being the man to whom the first rainbow was given, in confirmation of a covenant. It is admitted, that Confucius is the most correct heathen philosopher of whom we have any account; but he modestly disclaimed being the author of the precepts that he taught. He borrowed them, as he said, from the

writings of men who flourished fifteen hundred years before his time. Those men had been cotemporary with Noah, and doubtless were instructed by that excellent man.

The Egyptians, when they had learning among them, carried back their history to a surprising length of time. They had long been governed, as they alleged, by divine beings. Those divine princes were succeeded by a race of mortals. Herodotus was informed by their priests, that from the age of Menes, the first of mortal kings, to Sethos, who died about two thousand four hundred and eighty years ago, there had been a regular succession of princes, who reigned in all about eleven thousand three hundred and sixty-six years. This was a longer succession than has fallen to the lot of any other kingdom. But the most astonishing circumstance observed in that long dynasty was, that the sun, contrary to his usual course, rose twice in the west, and sat in the east. People there are among us, who affect to believe this story, and they have a pleasure in repeating it, as we presume, because it contradicts the Mosaic history of man. The man who is capable of digesting this story, is prepared to see the invisible mountain.

The Hindoos have by far the highest pretences to antiquity. Their sacred book, that contains the institutes of civil and religious duties, was received, as they pretend, from the supreme being himself, by a subordinate divine being, about one thousand nine hundred and sixty millions of years ago. From another divine being, of the same rank, there descended two races of kings, called children of the sun, and children of the moon, who reigned in different parts of India, about three millions of years. When compared to those people we are perfect ephemera. The ancients do not seem to have believed that much benefit could arise from correct

history, else they would have been more careful to preserve it. The pontiffs in Rome had the charge of preserving their annals; the magi in Persia should have been their historians: the priests in Egypt had the charge of preserving their public transactions. We know in what manner they discharged this part of their duty; for in the time of Herodotus, they could not tell when or by whom their pyramids were built; nor could they give any credible account of Sesostris, who was confessedly among the greatest of their kings. Could any credit be given to such men, when they talked of a succession of kings for more than eleven thousand years?

The great defects or chasms in civil history are not the only faults of which we complain: the frequent departures from truth in what they have written, is another subject of serious complaint. When I speak of their neglect of truth, I have no reference to those writers who tell us of gods and demi-gods who reigned in days of old. Such writers are beyond criticism. But Herodotus himself, who is called the father of history, was a dealer in romance. Like a poet, he sought to please rather than to instruct. He gave us a collection of stories that he advanced on the mere authority of faithless tradition. This father of history has been too well imitated by the greater number of his posterity. Perhaps the satirist said rather too much, when he proposed to write a history "*in the common form*," in which *there would not be a line of truth*, except this single assertion, that *the whole of it was false.*

The historian is often biassed by national prejudices, which induce him to depart from the truth, or he may wish to embellish his history by dealing in the marvellous. The effects are nearly the same. I will give a small specimen of each kind:—An ancient historian, whose ancestors were Goths, and had been driven from their country by the Huns

when they passed from Asia into Europe, speaking of the Huns, gives the following account of their origin: He says, that a certain Gothic king, removing from Scandinavia into Sarmatia in Asia, discovered, that among his subjects there were many witches. He banished those witches into a wilderness at a considerable distance. Evil spirits that inhabited the desert fell in love with the witches, by whom they had children: these were the ancestors of the Huns. However ridiculous this story must appear, it was advanced by a respectable historian at the risk of his character. It is known that the famous Attila invaded the Roman territories in Italy more than once; but it is not so clear that he ever came to Rome. We are told, however, by Damascus the historian, that in the fifth century he marched to Rome with a great army of Scythians. That under the walls of the city he encountered a Roman army equally numerous. They fought with such uncommon fury, that the whole of both armies were killed, except a few who were lifeguards to the king, or the commanding general; that for three days and three nights after the slaughter of the armies a constant war was carried on between the souls of the dead Romans and Scythians, with much uproar or noise. How many of them were killed, the author has not stated, nor was it necessary. The story is sufficiently wonderful.

Historians, too, in order to gratify the vitiated taste of their readers, are apt to commend the worst of men with more ardour than they commend the best. "Probitas laudatur et alget." Few men in any country are admired for a single murder, or a single act of robbery. But the man who murders thousands and tens of thousands; who desolates whole kingdoms, robbing every inhabitant, and filling the country with mourning widows and perishing children; that man is sure to be great

under the historian's pen. Herod, the Jewish king, a monster of barbarity, who murdered his wife and two or three of his own sons, was called GREAT, merely because he was prodigal of human blood.

Ancient historians, biassed by superstition, that disease of the human mind, are not more correct, nor more to be credited, in the account they give of natural phenomena, than in their history of civil transactions. I will state but a single case: One of their historians, speaking of a great luminous, stony substance, that fell in the river Argos, a few years before the Peloponnesian war, tells us, that "for seventy-five days before it fell, there was seen in the heavens a large body of fire, like a burning cloud, casting out fragments like shooting stars." If he had told us that the luminous body appeared seventy-five minutes, instead of days, before it fell, he would have exceeded the truth very much: but the phenomenon would have been less miraculous. This, however, we learn from the story, that the circumstance of a great ignited, stony substance, such as lately fell from the upper regions in Connecticut; such as fell not long since in India, and such as have lately fallen in sundry parts of Europe, was observed to fall two thousand years ago in Greece. And we learn, to our mortification, that to this hour we are perfectly ignorant of the origin, or cause, of those phenomena.

Keeping in view the cases in which the historian may have been tempted, by some unworthy motive, to forsake the truth, civil history may be read with pleasure and advantage. It is not only the most amusing, but it is the most instructive part of human literature. Being creatures of yesterday, we are indebted to history for the greater part of what we know. We are tenants of a spot on this globe, and that for a few days only. It is little that we have seen. History gives us an astonishing length

of days: for it makes us cotemporary with every nation that ever flourished. Accompanied by this Mentor, we take a short view of the antediluvian race of men. We traverse the greater part of Asia, observing the destruction that was made by the armies of Cyrus and Alexander, and we visit every part of Europe, and a considerable part of Africa, attending to the legions of Rome. We converse with the great men and wise men, the statesmen and philosophers, of Greece and Rome. Descending to later ages, we observe the Goths, the Vandals, and the Saracens, overturning old kingdoms and old forms of government; introducing new customs, and attempting, with no small degree of success, to cover the world with a thick cloud of ignorance. Fatigued and disgusted with the chieftains of a dark age, we attend to the progress of society, and we observe that learning, like the fabled Phœnix, is rising from the ashes of its parent. The world is illuminated by a new discovery—the art of printing; and the nations of Europe enjoy some degree of freedom, prosperity, and peace. Our sight and our strength remaining, we approach the nineteenth century, when we see another Atila, rising in his might, and making war with the genius of liberty. We see him overturning every state on the old continent that had any pretences to political freedom, and introducing a new species of military despotism. The tenth plague of Egypt was usually supposed to be the severest stroke with which God, in his wrath, had ever chastised a nation; but the military conscription is much more calamitous: it is not contented with the *first born*; for in many cases it sweeps off the oldest, the youngest, and every other son in the family. This man is bidding fair to cover the bright luminary of science by a total eclipse, and to darken the world by a long night of ignorance.

We are taught by history how it was that nations have acquired learning, power, and riches; and how they sunk into ignorance, poverty, and contempt. We are also taught a lesson that claims the particular attention of our fellow citizens in this state, and the attention of this society: We are taught that learning and the useful arts have always flourished in a free government, and have constantly shrunk beneath the sword of a conqueror. It is not that wise men or learned men are the productions of any particular soil or climate; they are constantly begotten and nourished by civil liberty. The Egyptians, as we know, were long since distinguished by their learning, but the tenure of property in that nation was secure; every man lived on his own lands, and the bounds were correctly marked. Lest the annual inundations of the Nile should deface their landmarks, they had recourse to annual surveys. For this reason the Egyptians were called *a nation meted out.* It appears that a great proportion of the inhabitants of that kingdom lived upon their own lands. If this had not been the case, they could not have subsisted, during a long famine, by selling their lands to the king. The Egyptian monarchy, as we know, was overturned above two thousand years ago, and that unfortunate nation has ever since been ruled by foreign princes. The subject at this time has neither liberty nor property. We observe the consequences. It would now be a poor compliment to any man to say, that "*he is learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.*"

The Grecians, about twenty-five hundred years ago, enjoyed a great degree of civil liberty. It followed, as a natural consequence, that the Grecians exceeded all other nations in arts and learning. The Grecians, or rather the Athenians, were not

indebted to soil or climate for the extraordinary progress they made in science and the liberal arts; they were merely indebted to the high degree of liberty they enjoyed. Sparta was but a few leagues distant from Attica; the soil, climate, and language, nearly the same: but the citizen in Sparta was hampered by a rigid military discipline. It was a discipline that chained the mind by inflexible rules, and pervaded the very forms of social intercourse. Hence it followed that the Spartans made little progress in arts or learning. Lest it should be alleged that the climate of Attica, and not the form of government, had been the parent of learning, we find that learning among those people withered beneath the touch of Alexander, and perished beneath the legions of Rome.

It has been correctly observed, that the history of a few centuries would do much toward forming a prophet; and this prophetic inspiration is confessedly among the most essential benefits that can be derived from civil history. The same causes will ever produce the same effects; and the things that have happened will happen again, in the like circumstances. When we have traced the steps by which a nation has acquired power, wealth, and knowledge, we shall be taught, by the same historian, how it was that they sunk into poverty, ignorance, and contempt. We are taught that commerce has ever produced riches, and some degree of learning. By commerce Palmyra in the desert became a splendid city. Tyre, Carthage, Alexandria, Venice and Amsterdam, were enriched by the same prolific stream. The inhabitants of each city retained such a degree of civil liberty, that the tenure of his property was secure; therefore the citizen was industrious.

It may be worth while, for a few minutes, to consider in what manner some of the most respectable

free states have been destroyed. Of the ancient states, I shall only consider Greece and Rome. While the small republics of Greece retained that principle of virtue, by which they were formed and connected, we know what glory they acquired by repelling the numerous and formidable armies of Persia. In comparing their situation with ours, it is hardly necessary to observe, how few those people were in number, when compared with the citizens of the United States; nor what a rivulet the Hellespont was when compared with the Atlantic ocean. But the very men who had effectually resisted the myriads of Persia, sunk beneath the arms of Macedon. These facts may seem to be improbable, but they are not to be questioned. The states by prosperity were diseased. Let us attend to the operation of their disease in the Athenian republic alone. Men there were in Athens, as in all societies, who were too indolent and too vicious to support themselves by honest industry. Those Lazaroni, those pests of society, in all cases, expect to be supported by the public, and where the people have the rule, they succeed by flattering the people. The Athenians had become rich by industry and commerce, and the people in general were greatly debauched. They cared little about the state, or about the other Grecian republics. The demagogues flattered their vices. They gratified the people by promoting plays and other public amusements: money was necessary to the support of their measures; and, to the eternal reproach of those people, the money that had been collected for military defence, was expended in supporting comedians and buffoons. The Lazaroni to whom I refer, the men who seduced the people, had long been in the pay and service of Alexander of Macedon.

He had discovered their pride and their want of virtue, and he found their price. They became his advocates before the people. While other men al-

leged that his intentions were hostile to liberty and the republic, those men contended that he respected the republic, and his intentions were friendly. The people believed, and were destroyed.

The commonwealth of Rome was destroyed by a different process from that which proved fatal to Athens and Greece. As it braved the attempts of a foreign enemy, it was indebted to a citizen for its overthrow. Julius Cæsar contemplated the ruin of his country. This, as he knew, could not be effected but by the help of the common people; wherefore he attempted, by all possible means, to acquire popularity. When he had obtained the rank of consul, which he obtained by corruption, he promoted a law for the general division of property among the people, and another law for distributing corn among the idle and worthless vagabonds in Rome. His measures were opposed by the nobles, the wealthy, and the prudent; therefore he threw himself on the people, and claimed their protection. The people gratified his wishes. They raised him to the highest commands in the army. He gained the affection of the army, and made slaves of the people. While we attend to the rise and fall of other republics, we should not forget that historians should be considered as a species of pilots who set up beacons to show us the rocks and shoals on which other nations have suffered shipwreck. We have not subsisted many years as a republic, but we have experienced the uncommon fortune of becoming wealthy, luxurious, and old, in a few years. If we are less attentive to the history of ancient republics, let us consider, that within the memory of man, there were some very respectable republics in Europe. They have disappeared, and,

> "Like the baseless fabric of a vision,
> Left not a trace behind."

The destruction of those republics is not charged, as I think, to the account of bribery, or to the artifice of a demagogue. The two most powerful of them destroyed themselves. There had been political disputes in each republic, as in all free governments. The warmest party, who called themselves patriots, called in the assistance of a powerful nation. Assistance was not refused, and their patron crushed them to death by his embraces.

The more cause we have to lament the general defects in ancient history, and the more cause we have to complain that there is hardly a country on the face of the earth whose original settlement and consequent progress can be discovered, the more industrious this society should be to preserve a small section of the globe, or the settlement and progress of a small colony from the great tomb of oblivion. It is not only our duty to have it faithfully recorded, how this part of the world was settled by civilized men, but also to show in what manner, and by what means, the inhabitants increased in useful knowledge and virtue; for it is not to be questioned, that a great proportion of the first settlers had but a small share of learning; and some of their chief officers were very deficient in virtue. Posterity will take little interest in knowing that the inhabitants may have doubled their number in twenty years; but they may be desirous to know by what means the subjects had obtained such a degree of information, toward the end of the eighteenth century, as to understand the principles of civil liberty, and contend successfully for their rights. Posterity will expect to be informed, and it will be your duty faithfully to record, what steps were taken in this eventful epoch, about the beginning of the nineteenth century, to promote virtue and the general stock of knowledge among the people. It was

observed by a great philanthropist, that fewer criminals are incarcerated in Scotland or in Switzerland than in any other part of Europe. The reason he assigns for this difference is, that the common people in Scotland and Switzerland are more generally instructed than in any other part of the civilized world. They are more generally taught to read, and are taught the principles of the christian religion, the foundation of good morals. His reasoning on this subject was doubtless correct. For ignorance is the fruitful parent of vice; and the man who knows his duty is most likely to attend to it. In this critical period, it will therefore be the duty of government to multiply the means of instruction; it will be their duty to see that every citizen is taught to read, at whatever expense that may be done; and you will take a pleasure, for the benefits of posterity, in recording the fact. Posterity may be desirous to know, and it will be your duty to record, whether men in public trust, instructed as they are by ancient history, and by the recent fate of European republics, had been careful to check the dangerous progress of internal faction; to preserve peace; to cultivate harmony among their fellow citizens, and to retain the confidence and affection of the sister republics.

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT THEIR ANNIVERSARY MEETING,

6th DECEMBER, 1811.

BY THE HONOURABLE DE WITT CLINTON,

ONE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY.

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

December 6th, 1811

RESOLVED, *That the thanks of this Society be presented to the Honourable* DE WITT CLINTON, *for the Discourse delivered this day before the Society; and that the Reverend Doctor* MILLER, *Doctor* HOSACK, *and Mr.* THOMAS EDDY, *be appointed a Committee to express the same, and to request a copy for publication.*

Extract from the minutes,

JOHN PINTARD,
Recording Secretary.

A

DISCOURSE, &c.

Mr. President, and
Gentlemen of the Historical Society,

THERE is a strong propensity in the human mind to trace up our ancestry to as high and as remote a source as possible; and if our pride and our ambition cannot be gratified by a real statement of facts, fable is substituted for truth, and the imagination is taxed to supply the deficiency. This principle of our nature, although liable to great perversion, and frequently the source of well-founded ridicule, may, if rightly directed, become the parent of great actions. The origin and progress of individuals, of families, and of nations, constitute Biography and History, two of the most interesting departments of human knowledge. Allied to this principle, springing from the same causes, and producing the same benign effects, is that curiosity we feel in tracing the history of the nations which have occupied the same territory before us, although not connected with us in any other respect. "To abstract the mind from all local emotion," says an eminent moralist, "would be impossible if it were endeavoured, and it would be foolish if it were possible."* The places where

* Johnson's Tour to the Hebrides

great events have been performed; where great virtues have been exhibited; where great crimes have been perpetrated, will always excite kindred emotions of admiration or horror: And if "that man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Jona," we may, with equal confidence, assert, that morbid must be his sensibility, and small must be his capacity for improvement, who does not advance in wisdom and in virtue, from contemplating the state and the history of the people who occupied this country before the man of Europe.

As it is, therefore, not uninteresting, and is entirely suitable to this occasion, I shall present a general geographical, political, and historical view of the red men who inhabited this state before us; and this I do the more willingly, from a conviction that no part of America contained a people which will furnish more interesting information and more useful instruction; which will display the energies of the human character in a more conspicuous manner, whether in light or in shade, in the exhibition of great virtues and talents, or of great vices and defects.

In 1774 the goverment of Connecticut, in an official statement to the British secretary of state, represented the original title to the lands of Connecticut as in the Pequot Nations of Indians, who were numerous and warlike; that their great sachem Sasacus had under him twenty-six sachems, and that their territory extended from Narraganset to Hudson's River, and over all Long Island.* The Long Island Indians, who are represented as very savage and ferocious, were called Meilowacks, or

* Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 7. p. 231.

Meitowacks, and the Island itself Meitowacks.* The Mohiccons, Mahatons, or Manhattans, occupied this Island and Staten Island.† The Mohegans, whose original name was Muhhekanew, were settled on that part of the state east of Hudson's River and below Albany, and those Indians on the west bank from its mouth to the Kaats' Kill mountains, were sometimes denominated Wabinga, and sometimes Sankikani, and they and the Mohegans‡ went by the general appellation of River Indians; or, according to the Dutch, Mohickanders. Whether the Mohegans were a distinct nation from the Pequots,§ has been recently doubted, although they were formerly so considered. One of the early historians asserts, that the Narragansets, a powerful nation in New England, held dominion over part of Long Island.‖ The generic name adopted by the French for all the Indians of New England, was Abenaquis; and the country from the head of Chesapeake bay to the Kittatinney mountains, as far eastward as the Abenaquis, and as far northward and westward as the Iroquois, was occupied by a nation denominated by themselves the Lenni-lenopi; by the French

* Smith's History of New-York, p. 262.

† Staten Island was purchased from the Indians by Col. Lovelace, second governor under the Duke of York, between the years 1667 and 1673. (*Chalmers's Political Annals of the Colonies*, p. 509.) He refers to different manuscripts in the plantation office, called New-York Entries, New-York Papers, which appear to be voluminous: If we could ascertain from those papers the nation that sold Staten Island, it might produce some interesting inferences.

‡ Jefferson's Virginia, p. 310. Collections of New-York Historical Society, vol. 1. p. 33, 34. Barton's Views of the Origin of the Indians, p. 31. Trumbull's History of the United States, p. 42.

§ Trumbull's History of Connecticut, p. 28.

‖ Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 1. p. 144, &c. *Daniel Gookins.*

Loups, and by the English Delawares.* Mr. Charles Thompson, formerly secretary of congress, supposed that this nation extended east of Hudson's to Connecticut River, and over Long Island, this island, and Staten Island; and Mr. Smith, in his History of New-York, says, that when the Dutch commenced the settlement of the country, all the Indians on Long Island and the northern shore of the Sound, and on the banks of Connecticut and Hudson Rivers, were in subjection to and paid an annual tribute to the Five Nations.† Mr. Smith's statement, therefore, does not accord with the fact of the tribute paid to the United Colonies of New-England, nor with the alleged dominion of the Pequots and Narragansets over Long Island. New-York was settled before Connecticut, and the supremacy of the Iroquois was never disturbed; and it probably prevailed at one time over Long Island, over the territory as far east as Connecticut River, and over the Indians on the west banks of the Hudson. The confusion on this subject has probably arisen from the same language being used by the Delawares and Abenaquis, but, indeed, it is not very important to ascertain to which of these nations the red inhabitants of that portion of the state may be properly referred. They, in process of time, became subject to the Iroquois, and paid a tribute in wampum and shells.‡ Their general character and conduct to the first Europeans they probably had ever seen,

* Barton's Views, p. 25. Jefferson's Notes, p. 310, &c.

† It is certain that the Montacket sachem, so called in former times, on the east end of Long Island, paid tribute in wampum to the Confederated Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, for at least ten years previous to 1656. Hazard's Collections of State Papers, vol. 2. p. 361.

‡ Smith's History of New-York. Colden's History of the Five Nations.

have been described in Hudson's voyage up the North River.* And it is not a little remarkable, that the natives below the Highlands were offensive and predatory, while those above rendered him every assistance and hospitality in their power. Of all these tribes, about nine or ten families remain on Long Island; their principal settlement is on a track of one thousand acres on Montauck Point. The Stockbridge Indians migrated from Hudson's River, in 1734, to Stockbridge in Massachusetts, from whence they removed about the year 1785 to lands assigned to them by the Oneidas in their territory.† The Brothertown Indians formerly resided in Narraganset, in Rhode Island, and in Farmington, Stonington, Mohegan, and some other towns in Connecticut, and are a remnant of the Muhhekanew Indians, formerly called the Seven Tribes on the Sea Coast. They also inhabit lands presented to them by the Oneidas. These Indians, and the Stockbridge Indians, augmented in a small degree by migrations from the Long Island Indians, have formed two settlements, which by an accurate census taken in 1794, contained four hundred and fifty souls. But the greater part of the Indians below Albany retreated at an early period from the approach of civilized man, and became merged in the nations of the north and the west. As far back as 1687, just after the destruction of the Mohawk Castles by the French, Governor Dongan advised‡ the Five Nations to open a path for all the North Indians and Mohickanders, that were among the Ottawas and other nations, and to use every endeavour to bring them home.

* Purchas' Pilgrim, vol. 3. p. 58. New-York Historical Collections, vol. 1. p. 102.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 4. p. 67, &c.

‡ Colden's History of the Five Nations, vol. 1. p. 85, &c.

The remaining, and much the greater part of the state was occupied by the Romans of this western world,* who composed a federal republic, and were denominated by the English, the Five Nations, the Six Nations, the Confederates; by the French, the Iroquois; by the Dutch, the Maquas, or Mahakuase; by the southern Indians, the Massawomacs; by themselves, the Mingos, or Mingoians, and sometimes the Aganuschion, or United People, and their confederacy they styled the Kenunctioni.†

The dwelling lands of this confederacy were admirably adapted for convenience, for subsistence, and for conquest. They comprize the greatest body of the most fertile lands in North America; and they are the most elevated grounds in the United States, from whence the waters run in every direction. The Ohio, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, the Hudson, and the St. Lawrence, almost all the great rivers, beside a very considerable number of secondary ones, originate here, and are discharged into the Gulph of Mexico by the Mississippi River, into the Gulph of St. Lawrence, by the St. Lawrence River, or into the Atlantic Ocean by various channels. Five great inland seas reach upward of 2,000 miles through a considerable part of this territory, and afford an almost uninterrupted navigation to that extent. By these lakes and rivers, the confederates were enabled, at all times, and in all directions, to carry war and destruction among the surrounding and the most

* Volney's View of the United States, p. 470—476. Colden's Five Nations, vol. 1. p. 4, 5.

† Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. 1. p. 144, &c. *Daniel Gookins.* Pownall on the Colonies, vol. 1. p. 235. Smith's History of New-Jersey, p. 136. Morse's Gazetteer, title Six Nations. Jefferson's Virginia, p. 140. Smith's History of New-York, p. 45.

distant nations. And their country also abounds with other lakes, some of great size; Lake Champlain, formerly called the Sea of the Iroquois, Lake George, the Saratoga, the Oneida, the Canadesaga or Seneca, the Cayuga, the Otsego, the Skaneatelas, the Canandaigua, the Cross, the Onondaga, the Otisco, the Owasco, the Crooked, the Canesus, the Hemlock, the Honeyoyo, the Chataque, the Caniaderaga, and the Canasoraga; composing in number and extent, with the five great lakes, the greatest mass of fresh water to be found in the world. In addition to the fertility of the soil, we may mention the mildness of the climate to the west of the Onondaga Hills, the salubrity and the magnificent scenery of the country. The numerous waters were stored with the salmon, the trout, the masquinonges, the white fish, the shad, the rock fish, the sturgeon, the perch, and other fish of various kinds; and the forests abounded with an incredible number and variety of game. The situation of the inhabitants was rendered very eligible from these sources of subsistence, connected with a very productive soil; for they had passed over the pastoral state, and followed agriculture as well as fishing and hunting. The selection of this country for a habitation, was the wisest expedient that could have been adopted by a military nation to satiate their thirst for glory, and to extend their conquests over the continent; and if they preferred the arts of peace, there was none better calculated for this important purpose. In a few days their forces could be seen, their power could be felt, at the mouth of the Ohio or the Missouri, on the waters of the Hudson or the St. Lawrence, or in the bays of Delaware or Chesapeake.

It is not a little difficult to define the territorial limits of this extraordinary people,* for on this subject there are the most repugnant representations by the French and English writers, arising from interest, friendship, prejudice, and enmity. While the French, on the one hand, were involved in continual hostility with them, the English, on the other hand, were connected by alliance and by commerce. By the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, it was stipulated "that the subjects of France inhabiting Canada, and others, shall hereafter give no hindrance or molestation to the Five Nations or cantons subject to the dominion of Great Britain."† As between France and England the confederates were, therefore, to be considered as the subjects of the latter, and of course the British dominion was co-extensive with the rightful territory of the five cantons, it then became the policy of France to diminish, and that of England to enlarge this territory. But notwithstanding the confusion which has grown out of these clashing interests and contradictory representations, it is not perhaps very far from the truth to pronounce, that the Five Nations were entitled by patrimony or conquest to all the territory in the United States and in Canada, not occupied by the Creeks, the Cherokees, and the other southern Indians, by the Sioux, the Kinisteneaux, and the Chippewas; and by the English and French, as far west as the Mississippi and lake Winnipeg, as far northwest as the waters which unite this lake and Hudson's Bay, and as far north as Hud-

* Rogers' Concise Account of North America, p. 6. Colden, vol. 1. p. 87. Pownall on the Colonies, vol. 1. p. 235, &c. Smith's New-York, p. 58. 179, &c. Douglass' Summary, p. 11, &c. Pownall's Geographical Description, &c. Charlevoix Histoire Generale de la Nouvelle France, &c.

† Chalmers' Collection of Treaties, vol. 1. p. 382.

son's Bay and Labrador. The Five Nations claim, says Smith, " all the land not sold to the English from the mouth of Sorel River, on the south side of Lakes Erie and Ontario, on both sides of the Ohio, till it falls into the Mississippi; and on the north side of these lakes, that whole territory between the Outawas River and Lake Huron, and even beyond the streights between that and Lake Erie." The principal point of dispute between the English and French was, whether the dominion of the confederates extended north of the Great Lakes; but I think it is evident that it did. It is admitted by several French writers, that the Iroquois had several villages on the north side of Lake Ontario, and they are even laid down in the maps attached to Charlevoix, and it cannot be denied but that they subdued the Hurons and Algonkins, who lived on that side of the Great Lakes, and consequently were entitled to their country by the rights of conquest. Douglass estimates their territory at about twelve hundred miles in length, from north to south, and from seven to eight hundred miles in breadth. This was either hereditary or conquered. Their patrimonial, and part of their conquered country, were used for the purpose of habitation and hunting. Their hunting grounds were very extensive, including a large triangle on the southeast side of the St. Lawrence River; the country lying on the south and east sides of Lake Erie; the country between the Lakes Erie and Michigan, and the country lying on the north of Lake Erie, and northwest of Lake Ontario, and between the Lakes Ontario and Huron. All the remaining part of their territory was inhabited by the Abenaquis, Algonkins, Shawanese, Delawares, Illinois, Miamies, and other vassal nations.

The acquisition of supremacy over a country of such amazing extent and fertility, inhabited by warlike and numerous nations, must have been the result of unity of design and system of action proceeding from a wise and energetic policy, continued for a long course of time. To their social combinations, military talents, and exterior arrangements, we must look for this system, if such a system is to be found.

The Confederates had proceeded far beyond the first element of all associations, that of combination into families; they had their villages, their tribes, their nations, and their confederacy; but they had not advanced beyond the first stage of government. They were destitute of an executive and judiciary to execute the determinations of their councils; and their government was therefore merely advisory, and without a coercive principle. The respect which was paid to their chiefs, and the general odium that attached to disobedience, rendered the decisions of their legislatures, for a long series of time, of as much validity as if they had been enforced by an executive arm.

They were originally divided into five nations, the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senekas. In 1712, the Tuscaroras, who lived on the back parts of North Carolina, and who had formed a deep and general conspiracy to exterminate the whites, were driven from their country, were adopted by the Iroquois as a sixth nation, and lived on lands between the Oneidas and Onondagas, assigned to them by the former.*

The Mohawks had four towns and one small village, situated on or near the fertile banks of the river of that name. The position of the first was

* Smith's New-York, p. 46. Douglass' Summary, p. 243.

at the confluence of the Schoharie Creek and Mohawk River, and the others were farther to the west. This nation, from their propinquity to the settlements of the whites, from their martial renown and military spirit, have, like Holland, frequently given their name to the whole confederacy, which is often denominated the Mohawks in the annals of those days; and it may be found employed in the pages of a celebrated periodical writer of Great Britain, for the purpose of the most exquisite humour.* This nation was always held in the greatest veneration by its associates. At the important treaty of 1768, at Fort Stanwix, by Sir William Johnson, they were declared by the other nations "the true old heads of the confederacy."† The Oneidas had their principal seat on the south of the Oneida Lake, the Onondagas near the Onondaga, and the Cayugas near the Cayuga Lake. The principal village of the Senecas was near the Genesee River, about twenty miles from Irondequoit Bay. Each nation was divided into three tribes; the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf; and each village was, like the cities of the United Netherlands, a distinct republic, and its concerns were managed by its particular chiefs.‡ Their exterior relations, general interests, and national affairs, were conducted and superintended by a great council, assembled annually in Onondaga, the central canton, composed of the chiefs of each republic; and eighty sachems were frequently convened at this national assembly. It took cognizance of the great questions

* Spectator.

† The proceedings of this treaty were never published. I have seen them in manuscript, in the possession of the late Vice President Clinton.

‡ See Charlevoix, Colden, &c.

of war and peace; of the affairs of the tributary nations, and of their negotiations with the French and English colonies. All their proceedings were conducted with great deliberation, and were distinguished for order, decorum, and solemnity. In eloquence, in dignity, and in all the characteristics of profound policy, they surpassed an assembly of feudal barons, and were perhaps not far inferior to the great Amphyctionic Council of Greece. Dr. Robertson, who has evinced, in almost every instance, a strong propensity to degrade America below its just rank in the scale of creation, was compelled to qualify the generality of his censures in relation to its political institutions, by saying, "If we except the celebrated league which united the Five Nations in Canada into a federal republic, we can discern few such traces of political wisdom among the rude American tribes as discover any great degree of foresight or extent of intellectual abilities."*

A distinguished feature in the character of the confederates, was an exalted spirit of liberty, which revolted with equal indignation at domestic or foreign controul. "We are born free, (said Garangula in his admirable speech to the governor general of Canada) we neither depend on Ononthio, or Corlear,"† on France, or on England. Baron Lahontan, who openly avowed his utter detestation and abhorrence of them, is candid enough to acknowledge, that "they laugh at the menaces of kings and governors, for they have no idea of dependence; nay, the very word is to them insupportable. They look upon themselves as sovereigns, accountable to none but God alone, whom

* Robertson's America, vol. 1. p. 435.

† See this speech in Appendix No 1; taken from Smith's History of New-York.

they call the Great Spirit." They admitted of no hereditary distinctions. The office of sachem was the reward of personal merit; of great wisdom, or commanding eloquence; of distinguished services in the cabinet or in the field. It was conferred by silent and general consent, as the spontaneous tribute due to eminent worth; and it could only be maintained by the steady and faithful cultivation of the virtues and accomplishments which procured it. No personal slavery was permitted:* their captives were either killed or adopted as a portion of the nation. The children of the chiefs were encouraged to emulate the virtues of their sires, and were frequently elevated to the dignities occupied by their progenitors. From this source has arisen an important error with respect to the establishment of privileged orders among the Confederates.

There is a striking similitude between the Romans and the Confederates, not only in their martial spirit and rage for conquest, but in their treatment of the conquered. Like the Romans, they not only adopted individuals, but incorporated the remnant of their vanquished enemies into their nation, by which they continually recruited their population, exhausted by endless and wasting wars, and were enabled to continue their career of victory and desolation: if their unhappy victims hesitated or refused, they were compelled to accept of the honours of adoption. The Hurons of the Island of Orleans, in 1656, knowing no other way to save themselves from destruction, solicited admission into the canton of the Mohawks, and were accepted; but, at the instance of the French, they declined their own proposal. On this occasion the Mohawks continued their ravages, and compelled acquiescence: they sent thirty of their warriors to

* Colden, vol. 1. p. 11.

Quebec, who took them away, with the consent of the governor general; he, in fact, not daring to refuse, after having addressed him in the following terms of proud defiance; which cannot but bring to our recollection similar instances of Roman spirit, when Rome was free.* "Lift up thy arm, Ononthio, and allow thy children, whom thou holdest pressed to thy bosom, to depart; for if they are guilty of any imprudence, have reason to dread, lest in coming to chastise them, my blows fall on thy head." Like the Romans, also, they treated their vassal nations with extreme rigour. If there were any delay in the render of the annual tribute, military execution followed, and the wretched delinquents frequently took refuge in the houses of the English to escape from destruction. On all public occasions they took care to demonstrate their superiority and dominion, and at all times they called their vassals to an awful account, if guilty of violating the injunctions of the great council. At a treaty held on the forks of the Delaware, in 1758, by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with the Six Nations, several claims of the Munseys, Wapings, and other Delaware Indians, for lands in the latter province, were adjusted and satisfied under the cognizance of the Confederates, who ordered them to deliver up their prisoners, and to be at peace with the English, and who assumed a dictatorial tone, and appeared to exercise absolute authority over the other Indians.† At a former conference on this subject, a Munsey, or Minisink Indian had spoken sitting, not being allowed to stand, until a Cayuga Chief had spoken; when the latter, thus expressed himself, "I, who

* Heriot's History of Canada. p. 79 (*This work is a compilation principally from Charlevoix.*)

† Smith's New-Jersey, 466, &c.

am the Mingoian, am by this belt to inform you that the Munseys are women, and cannot hold treaties for themselves; therefore I am sent to inform you, that the invitation you gave the Munseys is agreeable to us, the Six Nations."

At a treaty held at Lancaster in 1742, by the government of Pennsylvania with the Iroquois, the governor complained of the Delawares, who refused to remove from some lands which they had sold on the River Delaware.* On this occasion a great chief called *Canassatcegoo*, after severely reprimanding them, and ordering them to depart from the land immediately to Wyoming or Shamokin, concluded in the following manner: "After our just reproof and absolute order to depart from the land, you are now to take notice of what we have further to say to you. This string of wampum serves to forbid you, your children, and grand children, to the latest posterity, from ever meddling in land affairs; neither you, nor any who shall descend from you, are ever hereafter to sell any land. For this purpose you are to preserve this string, in memory of what your uncles have this day given you in charge. We have some other business to transact with our brethren, and therefore depart the council, and consider what has been said to you." The Confederates had captured a great part of the Shawanese Nation who lived on the Wabash, but afterward, by the mediation of Mr. Penn, at the first settlement of Pennsylvania, gave them liberty to settle in the western parts of that province; but obliged them, as a badge of their cowardice, to wear female attire for a long time: and some nations, as low down as 1769, were not permitted to appear ornamented with paint† at any general

* Colden, vol. 1. p. 31.

† Roger's Concise Account, &c. p. 209, &c.

meeting or congress, where the confederates attended; that being an express article in their capitulations.* This humiliation of the tributary nations was, however, tempered with a paternal regard for their interests in all negotiations with the whites; and care was taken that no trespasses should be committed on their rights, and that they should be justly dealt with in all their concerns.

War was the favourite pursuit of this martial people, and military glory their ruling passion. Agriculture, and the laborious drudgery of domestic life were left to the women. The education of the savage was solely directed to hunting and war. From his early infancy, he was taught to bend the bow, to point the arrow, to hurl the tomahawk, and to wield the club. He was instructed to pursue the foosteps of his enemies through the pathless and unexplored forest; to mark the most distant indications of danger; to trace his way by the appearances of the trees, and by the stars of heaven, and to endure fatigue, and cold, and famine, and every privation. He commenced his career of blood by hunting the wild beasts of the woods, and after learning the dexterous use of the weapons of destruction, he lifted his sanguinary arm against his fellow creatures. The profession of a warrior was considered the most illustrious pursuit; their youth looked forward to the time, when they could march against an enemy, with all the avidity of an epicure for the sumptuous dainties of a Heliogabalus. And this martial ardor was continually thwarting the pacific counsels of the elders, and enthralling them in perpetual and devastating wars. With savages in general, this ferocious propensity

* This is the Shawanese nation of Indians, who, under the auspices of their prophet, have lately had an engagement with the army under the command of governor Harrison.

was impelled by a blind fury, and was but little regulated by the dictates of skill and judgment; on the contrary, with the Iroquois, war was an art. All their military movements were governed by system and policy. They never attacked a hostile country, until they had sent out spies to explore and to designate its vulnerable points, and whenever they encamped, they observed the greatest circumspection to guard against surprize; whereas the other savages only sent out scouts to reconnoitre; but they never went far from the camp, and if they returned without perceiving any signs of an enemy, the whole band went quietly to sleep, and were often the victims of their rash confidence.*

Whatever superiority of force the Iroquois might have, they never neglected the use of stratagems; they employed all the crafty wiles of the Carthaginians. The cunning of the fox, the ferocity of the tiger, and the power of the lion, were united in their conduct. They preferred to vanquish their enemy by taking him off his guard; by involving him in an ambuscade; by falling upon him in the hour of sleep: but when emergencies rendered it necessary for them to face him in the open field of battle, they exhibited a courage and contempt of death which have never been surpassed.

Although we have no reason to believe that they were, generally speaking, Anthropophagi, yet we have no doubt but that they sometimes eat the bodies of their enemies killed in battle, more indeed for the purpose of exciting their ferocious fury than for gratifying their appetite; like all other savage nations, they delighted in cruelty. To inflict the most exquisite torture upon their captive, to produce his death by the most severe and pro-

* Colden, vol. 1. p. 110. Heriot, p. 15.

tracted sufferings, was sanctioned by general and immemorial usage. Herodotus informs us, that the Scythians (who were, in all probability, the ancestors of the greater part of our red men,) drank the blood of their enemies, and suspended their scalps from the bridle of their horses, for a napkin and a trophy; that they used their sculls for drinking vessels, and their skins as a covering to their horses.* In the war between the Carthaginians and their mercenaries, Gisco, a Carthaginian general, and seven hundred prisoners, according to Polybius, were scalped alive; and in return, Spendius, a general of the mercenaries, was crucified, and the prisoners taken in the war thrown alive to the elephants.† From these celebrated nations we may derive the practice of scalping, so abhorrent to humanity; and it is not improbable, considering the maritime skill and distant voyages of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, that America derives part of its population from that source by water, as it undoubtedly has from the northeast parts of Asia by land, with the exception of a narrow strait.

But the Five Nations, notwithstanding their horrible cruelty, are in one respect entitled to singular commendation for the exercise of humanity: those enemies they spared in battle they made free; whereas, with all other barbarous nations, slavery was the commutation of death. But it becomes not us, if we value the characters of our forefathers; it becomes not the civilised nations of Europe who have had American possessions, to inveigh against the merciless conduct of the savage. His appetite for blood was sharpened and whetted by European instigation, and his cupidity was enlisted on the side of cruelty by every temptation. In the

* Beloe's Herodotus, vol. 2. p. 419.
† Polybius, b. 1. chap. 6.

wars between France and England and their colonies, their Indian allies were entitled to a premium for every scalp of an enemy. In the war preceding 1703, the government of Massachusetts gave twelve pounds for every Indian scalp; in that year the premium was raised to forty pounds, but in 1722 it was augmented to one hundred pounds.* An act was passed on the 25th Febuary, 1745, by our colonial legislature, entitled "An act for giving a reward for such scalps and prisoners as shall be taken by the inhabitants of (or Indians in alliance with) this colony, and to prevent the inhabitants of the city and county of Albany from selling rum to the Indians."† In 1746, the scalps of two Frenchmen were presented to one of our colonial governors at Albany, by three of the confederate Indians; and his excellency, after gratifying them with money and fine clothes, assured them how well he took this special mark of their fidelity, and that he would always remember this act of friendship.‡ The employment of savages, and putting into their hands the scalping knife during our revolutionary war, were openly justified in the House of Lords by Lord Suffolk, the British Secretary of State, who vindicated its policy and necessity, and declared "that the measure was also allowable on principle; for that it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and nature had put into their hands."§ The eloquent rebuke of Lord Chatham has perpetuated the sentiment, and consigned its author to immortal infamy. It were to be wished, for the honour of human nature,

* Douglass' Summary, p. 199. 586. Holmes' American Annals, vol. 2. p. 116.

† Journals of Colonial Assembly, vol. 1. p. 95.

‡ Colden, vol. 2. p. 120

§ Belsham.

that an impenetrable veil could be drawn over these horrid scenes; but, alas! they are committed to the imperishable pages of history, and they are already recorded with the conflagrations of Smithfield, the massacres of St. Bartholomew, and the cannibal barbarities of the French revolution.

The conquests and military achievements of the Iroquois were commensurate with their martial ardour, their thirst for glory, their great courage, their invincible perseverance, and their political talents. Their military excursions were extended as far north as Hudson's Bay. The Mississippi did not form their western limits; their power was felt in the most southern and eastern extremities of the United States. Their wars have been supposed, by one writer, to have been carried near to the Isthmus of Darien.* And Cotton Mather, in his Magnalia, which was probably written in 1698, describes them as terrible cannibals to the westward, who have destroyed no less than two millions of other savages.†

The ostensible causes of war among the Indians, were like many of those among civilized nations; controversies about limits, violations of the rights of embassy, individual or national wrongs: And the real and latent reasons were generally the same; the enlargement of territory, the extension of dominion, the gratification of cupidity, and the acquisition of glory. According to a late traveller, a war has existed for two centuries between the Sioux and the Chippewas.‡ For an infraction of the rights of the calumet, the confederates carried on a war of thirty years against the Choctaws.§

* Rogers's America, p. 209.
† Ibid. p. 728.
‡ Pike's Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi, &c. p. 61.
§ Smith's New-York, p. 52.

For a violation of the game laws of the hunting nations, in not leaving a certain number of male and female beavers in each pond, they subdued and nearly destroyed the Illinois;* and they appeared to have accurate notions of the rights of belligerents over contraband articles; for they considered all military implements carried to an enemy as liable to seizure; but they went farther, and, conceiving this conduct a just ground of war, treated the persons supplying their enemies, as enemies, and devoted them to death. But the commerce in furs and peltries, produced by their intercourse with the Europeans, introduced a prolific source of contention among them, and operated like opening the box of Pandora. Those articles were eagerly sought after by the whites, and the red men were equally desirous of possessing iron, arms, useful tools, cloths, and the other accommodations of civilized life. Before the arrival of the Europeans, furs were only esteemed for their use as clothing; but when the demand increased, and an exchange of valuable articles took place, it became extremely important to occupy the most productive hunting grounds, and to monopolize the best and the most furs. And it was sometimes the policy of the French to divert the attacks of the Iroquois from the nations with whom they traded, by instigating them to hostilities against the Southern Indians friendly to the English colonies; and at other times they excited wars between their northern allies and the Iroquois, in order to prevent the former from trading with the English, which they preferred, because they could get their goods cheaper. On the other hand, the English entangled the confederates in all their hostilities with the French and their Indian allies. The commerce in furs and

* See Garangula's Speech in Appendix, No. 1.

peltries was deemed so valuable, that no exertion or expense was spared in order to effect a monopoly. The goods of the English were so eagerly sought after by the Indians, and so much preferred to those of the French, that the latter were compelled to procure them from the colony of New-York; from whence they were conveyed to Montreal, and distributed among the savages. It was then evident, that the English had it in their power, not only to undersell the French, but by a total interdiction of those supplies, to expel them from the trade. The enlightened policy of Gov. Burnet dictated the most energetic step, and a colonial law was passed for the purpose.* He also established trading houses, and erected a fort at Oswego, at the entrance of Onondaga river into Lake Ontario. This position was judiciously selected, not only on account of its water communication with a great part of the Iroquois territory, but for the facility with which articles could be transported to and from Schenectady; there being but three portages in the whole route, two of which were very short. It had another decided advantage. The Indian navigation of the lakes being in canoes, is necessarily along the coast. The southern side of Lake Ontario affording a much more secure route than the northern, all the Indians who came from the great lakes, would, on their way to Canada, have to pass close by the English establishment, where they could be supplied at a cheaper rate, and at a less distance. Oswego then became one great emporium of the fur trade; and its ruins now proclaim the vestiges of its former prosperity. The French perceived all the consequences of those measures, and they immediately rebuilt the fort at Niagara.

* Colden's Five Nations, vol. 1. p. 95. Smith's New-York. p. 224, &c. Herriot's Canada, p. 174.

in order that they might have a commercial establishment two hundred miles nearer to the western Indians than that at Oswego. Having previously occupied the mouth of the Lake Ontario by Fort Frontenac, the fort at Niagara now gave them a decided advantage in point of position. The act passed by Gov. Burnet's recommendation was, under the influence of a pernicious policy, repealed by the British king. The Iroquois had adopted a determined resolution to exterminate the French. "Above these thirty years," says La Hontan, "their ancient counsellors have still remonstrated to the warriors of the Five Nations, that it was expedient to cut off all the savage nations of Canada, in order to ruin the commerce of the French, and after that to dislodge them from the continent. With this view they have carried the war above four or five hundred leagues off their country, after the destroying of several different nations."* Charlevoix was impressed with the same opinion: "The Iroquois," says he, "are desirous of exercising a species of domination over the whole of this great continent, and to render themselves the sole masters of its commerce."† Finding the auxiliary efforts of the English rendered abortive, their rage and fury increased, and the terror of their arms was extended accordingly. At a subsequent period, they appeared to entertain different and more enlightened views on this subject. They duly appreciated the policy of averting the total destruction of either European power; and several instances could be pointed out, by which it could be demonstrated that the balance of power, formerly the subject of so much speculation among the states-

* Vol. 1. p. 270.

† Charlevoix's Histoire Generale de la Nouvelle France, vol. I. b. 11. p. 467.

men of Europe, was thoroughly understood by the Confederates in their negotiations and intercourse with the French and English colonies.

To describe the military enterprises of this people, would be to delineate the progress of a tornado or an earthquake.*

"Wide-wasting Death, up to the ribs in blood, with giant stroke widow'd the nations."†

Destruction followed their footsteps, and whole nations subdued, exterminated, rendered tributary, expelled from their country, or mersed in their conquerors, declare the superiority and the terror of their arms. When Champlain arrived in Canada, in 1603, he found them at war with the Hurons and Algonkins. He took part and headed three expeditions against them; in two of which he was successful, but in the last he was repulsed. This unjust, and impolitic interference, laid the foundation of continual wars between the French and the Confederates. The Dutch, on the contrary, entered into an alliance with them on their first settlement of the country, which continued without interruption; and on the surrender of New York to the English in 1664, Carteret, one of the commissioners, was sent to subdue the Dutch at Fort Orange, now Albany; which having effected, he had a Conference with the confederates, and entered into a league of friendship; which continued without violation on either part.‡

* For the military exploits of the Iroquois, generally speaking, see De la Potherie, La Houtan, Charlevoix, Colden, Smith, and Herriot.

† Cumberland's Battle of Hastings.

‡ Colden, vol. 1. p. 34. Smith's New-York, p. 3, 31. Douglas's Summary, vol. 2. p. 243.

The conquests of the Iroquois, previous to the discovery of America, are only known to us through the imperfect channels of tradition; but it is well authenticated, that since that memorable era, they exterminated the nation of the Eries or Erigas, on the south side of Lake Erie, which has given a name to that lake. They nearly extirpated the Andastez and the Chouanons; they conquered the Hurons, and drove them and their allies, the Ottawas, among the Sioux, on the head waters of the Mississippi, "where they separated themselves into bands, and proclaimed, wherever they went, the terror of the Iroquois."* They also subdued the Illinois, the Miamies, the Algonkins, the Delawares, the Shawanese, and several tribes of the Abenaquis. After the Iroquois had defeated the Hurons, in a dreadful battle fought near Quebec, the Neperceneans, who lived upon the St. Lawrence, fled to Hudson's Bay to avoid their fury. In 1649 they destroyed two Huron villages, and dispersed the nation; and afterward they destroyed another village of six hundred families. Two villages presented themselves to the Confederates, and lived with them. "The dread of the Iroquois," says the historian, "had such an effect upon all the other nations, that the borders of the river Ontaouis, which were long thickly peopled, became almost deserted, without its ever being known what became of the greater part of the inhabitants."† The Illinois fled to the westward, after being attacked by the Confederates, and did not return until a general peace; and were permitted in 1760, by the Confederates, to settle in the country between the Wabash and the Scioto rivers.‡ The

* Herriot, p. 77.

† Herriot, p. 70.

‡ Pownall's Topogra hical Description of such Parts of North America as are described in Evan's Map. 1776, p. 42.

banks of Lake Superior were lined with Algonkins, who sought an asylum from the Five Nations; they also harassed all the northern Indians, as far as Hudson's Bay, and they even attacked the nations on the Missouri. When La Salle was among the Natchez, in 1683, he saw a party of that people, who had been on an expedition against the Iroquois.* Smith, the founder of Virginia, in an expedition up the bay of Chesapeak, in 1608, met a war party of the Confederates, then going to attack their enemies.† They were at peace with the Cowetas or Creeks, but they warred against the Catawbas, the Cherokees, and almost all the southern Indians.‡ The two former sent deputies to Albany, where they effected a peace through the mediation of the English. In a word, the Confederates were, with a few exceptions, the conquerors and masters of all the Indian nations east of the Mississippi. Such was the terror of the nations, that when a single Mohawk appeared on the hills of New England, the fearful spectacle spread pain and terror, and flight was the only refuge from death.§ Charlevoix mentions a singular instance of this terrific ascendency: Ten or twelve Ottawas, being pursued by a party of Iroquois, endeavoured to pass over to Goat Island, on the Niagara river, in a canoe; they were swept down the cataract; and, as it appeared, preferred to the sword of their enemies.‖

> ———The vast immeasurable abyss,
> Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild.
> Up from the bottom turn'd.**

* Tontis' account of De la Salle's last Expedition. Printed in London from the French in 1698, p. 112.

† Jefferson's Notes, 310, &c.

‡ Adair's History of the Indians.

§ Colden, vol. 1. p. 3.

‖ Charlevoix, vol. 3. let. 15. p. 234.

** Milton's Paradise Lost, b. 7.

In consequence of their sovereignty over the other nations, the Confederates exercised a proprietary right in their lands. In 1742 they granted to the province of Pennsylvania certain lands on the west side of the Susquehannah, having formerly done so on the east side.* In 1744 they released to Maryland and Virginia certain lands claimed by them in those colonies; and they declared at this treaty, that they had conquered the several nations living on the Susquehannah and Patowmac rivers, and on the back of the Great Mountains in Virginia.† In 1754, a number of the inhabitants of Connecticut purchased of them a large tract of land west of the river Delaware, and from thence spreading over the east and west branches of the Susquehannah River.‡ In 1768 they gave a deed to William Trent and others, for land between the Ohio and Monongahela. They claimed and sold the land on the north side of Kentucky river.§ In 1768, at a treaty held at Fort Stanwix with Sir William Johnson, the line of property, as it was commonly denominated, was settled, marking out the boundary between the English colonies and the territory of the Confederates.‖

The vicinity of the Confederates was fortunate for the colony of New York. They served as an effectual shield against the hostile incursions of the French, and their savage allies. Their war with the French began with Champlain, and continued, with few intervals, until the treaty of Utrecht, which confirmed the surrender of Canada, Nova Scotia, and Acadia, to Great Britain. For

* Colden, vol. 2. p. 20.
† Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. 7. p. 171, &c.
‡ Massachusetts Aistorical Collections, vol. 7. p. 231.
§ Holmes' Annals, vol. 2. p. 287. Jefferson's Notes, p. 296.
‖ Jefferson's Notes, p. 296.

near a century and a half they maintained a war against the French possessions in Louisiana and Canada, sometimes alone, and sometimes in conjunction with the English colonies. During this eventful period, they often maintained a proud superiority; always an honourable resistance; and no vicissitude of fortune, or visitation of calamity, could ever compel them to descend from the elevated ground which they occupied in their own estimation, and in the opinion of the nations. Their expeditions into Canada were frequent: wherever, they marched terror and desolation composed their train.

> "And Vengeance, striding from his grisly den,
> With fell impatience grinds his iron teeth;
> And Massacre, unchidden, cloys his famine,
> And quaffs the blood of nations."*

In 1683, M. Delabarre, the governor general of Canada, marched with an army against the cantons. He landed near Oswego, but finding himself incompetent to meet the enemy, he instituted a negotiation, and demanded a conference. On this occasion, Garangula, an Onondaga chief, attended in behalf of his country, and made the celebrated reply to M. Delabarre, which I shall presently notice. The French retired from the country with disgrace. The second general expedition was undertaken in 1687, by M. Denonville, governor general. He had treacherously seized several of their chiefs, and sent them to the gallies in France. He was at the head of an army exceeding two thousand men. He landed in Irondequoit Bay, and when near a village of the Senecas, was attacked by five hundred, and would have been defeated, if his In-

* Glover's Boadicea.

dian allies had not rallied and repulsed the enemy. After destroying some provisions, and burning some villages, he retired without any acquisition of laurels. The place on which this battle was fought, has been within a few years owned by Judge Porter, of Grand Niagara. On ploughing the land, three hundred hatchets, and upward of three thousand pounds of old iron were found, being more than sufficient to defray the expense of clearing it.

The Confederates, in a year's time, compelled their enemies to make peace, and to restore their chiefs. It was with the French the only escape from destruction. Great bodies of the Confederates threatened Montreal, and their canoes covered the Great Lakes. They shut up the French in forts, and would have conquered the whole of Canada, if they had understood the art of attacking fortified places. This peace was soon disturbed by the artifices of Kondiaronk, a Huron chief; and the Iroquois made an irruption on the Island of Montreal with one thousand two hundred men, destroying every thing before them.

The third and last grand expedition against the Confederates, was undertaken in 1697, by the Count De Frontenac; the ablest and bravest governor that the French ever had in Canada. He landed at Oswego, with a powerful force, and marched to the Onondaga Lake; he found their principal village burnt and abandoned. He sent seven hundred men to destroy the Oneida castle, who took a few prisoners. An Onondaga chief, upward of one hundred years old, was captured in the woods, and abandoned to the fury of the French savages. After sustaining the most horrid tortures, with more than stoical fortitude, the only complaint he was heard to utter was, when one of them, actuated by compassion, or probably by rage, stabbed him repeatedly with a knife, in order to

put a speedy end to his existence, "Thou ought not," said he, "to abridge my life, that thou might have time to learn to die like a man. For my own part, I die contented, because I know no meanness with which to reproach myself." After this tragedy, the Count thought it prudent to retire with his army; and he probably would have fallen a victim to his temerity, if the Senecas had not been kept at home, from a false report, that they were to be attacked at the same time by the Ottawas.

After the general peace in 1762, an attempt was made by a number of the western Indians to destroy the British colonies. The Senecas were involved in this war, but in 1764, Sir William Johnson, styling himself his Majesty's sole agent and superintendant of Indian affairs for the northern parts of North America, and colonel of the Six United Nations, their allies and dependents, agreed to preliminary articles of peace with them. In this treaty, the Senecas ceded the carrying place at Niagara to Great Britain. The Confederates remained in a state of peace, until the commencement of the Revolutionary War.* On the 19th of June, 1775, the Oneidas and some other Indians, sent to the convention of Massachusetts a speech, declaring their neutrality; stating that they could not find nor recollect in the traditions of their ancestors, a paralled case; and saying, "As we have declared for peace, we desire you would not apply to our Indian brethren in New England for assistance. Let us Indians be all of one mind, and live with one another; and you white people settle your own disputes betwixt yourselves.†

* Thomas Mante's History of the Late war in North America. &c. printed, London, 1772. p. 503.

† Williams' History of Vermont, vol. 2. p. 440.

These good dispositions did not long continue with most of the Indian nations; all within the reach of British blandishments and presents were prevailed upon to take up the hatchet. It is calculated that twelve thousand six hundred and ninety Indian warriors were employed by the British during the revolutionary war, of which one thousand five hundred and eighty were Iroquois.* The influence of Sir William Johnson over the savages was transmitted to his son, who was most successful in alluring them into the views of Great Britain. "A great war feast was made by him on the occasion, in which, according to the horrid phraseology of these barbarians, they were invited to banquet upon a Bostonian, and to drink his blood."†

General Burgoyne made a speech to the Indians on the 21st of June, 1777, urging them to hostilities, and stating "his satisfaction at the general conduct of the Indian tribes, from the beginning of the troubles in America." An old Iroquois chief answered, "We have been tried and tempted by the Bostonians, but we have loved our father, and our hatchets have been sharpened on our affections. In proof of the sincerity of our professions, our whole villages, able to go to war, are come forth; the old and infirm, our infants and our wives, alone remain at home."‡ They realized their professions. The whole Confederacy, except a little more than half of the Oneidas, took up arms against us. They hung like the scythe of death upon the rear of our settlements, and their deeds are inscribed, with the scalping knife and the tomahawk, in cha-

* Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 10. p. 120, &c.
† Belsham.
‡ Williams, as before quoted, vol. 2.

racters of blood, on the fields of Wyoming and Cherry Valley, and on the banks of the Mohawk.

It became necessary that the Confederates should receive a signal chastisement for their barbarous and cruel incursions; and accordingly, general Sullivan, with an army of nearly five thousand men, marched into their country in the year 1779. Near Newtown, in the present county of Tioga, he defeated them, and drove them from their fortifications; he continued his march between the Cayuga and Seneca Lakes, and through their territory, as far as the Genessee River, destroying their orchards, cornfields, and forty villages; the largest of which contained one hundred and twenty-eight houses. This expedition was nearly the finishing blow to savage cruelty and insolence; their habitations were destroyed; their provinces laid waste; they were driven from their country, and were compelled to take refuge under the cannon of Niagara; and their hostility terminated with the pacification with Great Britain.

The Confederates were as celebrated for their eloquence, as for their military skill and political wisdom. Popular, or free governments have, in all ages, been the congenial soil of oratory. And it is, indeed, all important in institutions merely advisory; where persuasion must supply the place of coercion; where there is no magistrate to execute, no military to compel; and where the only sanction of law is the controlling power of public opinion. Eloquence being, therefore, considered so essential, must always be a great standard of personal merit, a certain road to popular favour, and an universal passport to public honours. These combined inducements operated with powerful force on the mind of the Indian; and there is little doubt but that oratory was studied with as much care and application among the Confederates, as

it was in the stormy democracies of the eastern hemisphere. I do not pretend to assert that there were, as at Athens and Rome, established schools and professional teachers for the purpose; but I say, that it was an attainment to which they devoted themselves, and to which they bent the whole force of their faculties. Their models of eloquence were to be found, not in books, but in the living orators of their local and national assemblies: their children, at an early period of life, attended their council fires, in order to observe the passing scenes, and to receive the lessons of wisdom. Their rich and vivid imagery was drawn from the sublime scenery of nature, and their ideas were derived from the laborious operations of their own minds, and from the experience and wisdom of their ancient sages.

The most remarkable difference existed between the Confederates and the other Indian nations with respect to eloquence. You may search in vain in the records and writings of the past, or in events of the present times, for a single model of eloquence among the Algonkins, the Abenaquis, the Delawares, the Shawanese, or any other nation of Indians, except the Iroquois. The few scintillations of intellectual light; the faint glimmerings of genius, which are sometimes to be found in their speeches, are evidently derivative, and borrowed from the Confederates.

Considering the interpreters who have undertaken to give the meaning of Indian speeches, it is not a little surprising, that some of them should approach so near to perfection. The major part of the interpreters were illiterate persons, sent among them to conciliate their favour, by making useful or ornamental implements; or they were prisoners, who learnt the Indian language during their captivity. The Reverend Mr. Kirkland, a mission-

ary among the Oneidas, and sometimes a public interpreter, was indeed a man of liberal education; but those who have seen him officiate at public treaties, must recollect how incompetent he was to infuse the fire of Indian oratory into his expressions; how he laboured for words, and how feeble and inelegant his language. Oral is more difficult than written interpretation or translation. In the latter case, there is no pressure of time, and we have ample opportunity to weigh the most suitable words, to select the most elegant expressions, and to fathom the sense of the author; but in the former case, we are called upon to act immediately; no time for deliberation is allowed; and the first ideas that occur must be pressed into the service of the interpreter. At an ancient treaty, a female captive officiated in that capacity; and at a treaty held in 1722, at Albany, the speeches of the Indians were first rendered into Dutch, and then translated into English.* I except from these remarks, the speech of the Onondaga Chief, Garangula, to M. Delabarre, delivered on the occasion which I have before mentioned. This was interpreted by Monsieur Le Maine, a French Jesuit, and recorded on the spot by Baron La Hontan—men of enlightened and cultivated minds; from whom it has been borrowed by Colden, Smith, Herriot, Trumbull and Williams. I believe it to be impossible to find, in all the effusions of ancient or modern oratory, a speech more appropriate and more convincing. Under the veil of respectful profession, it conveys the most biting irony; and while it abounds with rich and splendid imagery, it contains the most solid reasoning. I place it in the same rank with the celebrated speech of Logan; and I cannot but express astonishment at the conduct of two respectable writers, who

* Oldmixon's British Empire, vol. 1. p. 254.

have represented this interesting interview, and this sublime display of intellectual power, as "a scold between the French general and an old Indian."*

On the 9th of February, 1690, as we are informed by the tradition of the inhabitants, although history has fixed it on the 8th, the town of Schenectady, which then consisted of a church and forty three houses, was surprised by a party of French and Indians from Canada: a dreadful scene of conflagration and massacre ensued; the greater part of the inhabitants were killed or made prisoners; those that escaped fled naked toward Albany, in a deep snow which fell that very night, and providentially met sleighs from that place, which returned immediately with them. This proceeding struck terror into the inhabitants of Albany, who were about to abandon the country in despair and consternation. On this occasion, several of the Mohawk chiefs went to Albany, to make the customary speech of condolence, and to animate to honourable exertion. Their speech is preserved in the first volume of Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada; and even at this distant period, it is impossible to read it, without sensibility, without respecting its affectionate sympathy, and admiring its magnanimous spirit, and without ranking it among the most respectable models of eloquence which history affords.†

In 1777 and 1778, an association of our own citizens, in violation of law, contracted with the Six Nations for the greater part of their territory, on a lease of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, at an insignificant annual rent. These proceedings were, on the motion of the President of this Society,‡ de-

* Colden and Smith. † Appendix, No. 2.

‡ Egbert Benson, Esq.

clared void in March, 1788, by the authorities of the state; and when their true character was made known to the Indians; when they found that their country, in which were interred the bones of their ancestors, was sacrificed to the overreaching cupidity of unauthorized speculators, the greatest anxiety and consternation prevailed among them. The Senecas and Cayugas repaired to Albany to confer with the governor; but having no speaker at that time of sufficient eminence and talents for the important occasion, they employed Good Peter, or Domine Peter, the Cicero of the Six Nations, to be their orator, and he addressed the governor and other commissioners in a speech of great length and ability: it was replete with figurative language; the topics were selected with great art and judgment; I took down the speech from the mouth of the interpreter; and notwithstanding the imperfect interpretation of Mr. Kirkland, consider it a rare specimen of Indian eloquence.*

Within a few years, an extraordinary orator has risen among the Senecas; his real name is Saguoaha, but he is commonly called Red Jacket. Without the advantages of illustrious descent, and with no extraordinary talents for war, he has attained the first distinctions in the nation, by the force of his eloquence. His predecessor, in the honours of the nation, was a celebrated chief, denominated The Cornplanter. Having lost the confidence of his countrymen, in order, as it is supposed, to retrieve his former tsanding, he persuaded his brother to announce himself as a prophet, or messenger from Heaven, sent to redeem the fallen fortunes of the Indian race. The superstition of the savages cherished the impostor; and he has acquired such an ascendancy, as to prevail upon the Onondagas,

* Appendix, No. 3.

formerly the most drunken and profligate of the Six Nations, to abstain entirely from spirituous liquors, and to observe the laws of morality in other respects. He has obtained the same ascendancy among the Confederates, as another impostor had acquired among the Shawanese and other western Indians; and, like him, he has also employed his influence for evil, as well as for good purposes. The Indians universally believe in witchcraft; the prophet inculcated this superstition, and proceeded, through the instrumentality of conjurers selected by himself, to designate the offenders, who were accordingly sentenced to death. And the unhappy objects would have been actually executed, if the magistrates at Oneida, and the officers of the garrison at Niagara, had not interfered. This was considered an artful expedient to render his enemies the objects of general abhorrence, if not the victims of an ignominious death. Emboldened by success, he proceeded, finally, to execute the views of his brother, and Red Jacket was publicly denounced at a great council of Indians, held at Buffaloe Creek, and was put upon his trial. At this crisis he well knew that the future colour of his life depended upon the powers of his mind. He spoke in his defence for near three hours. The iron brow of superstition relented under the magic of his eloquence: he declared the prophet an imposter and a cheat; he prevailed; the Indians divided, and a small majority appeared in his favour. Perhaps the annals of history cannot furnish a more conspicuous instance of the triumph and power of oratory, in a barbarous nation, devoted to superstition, and looking up to the accuser as a delegated minister of the Almighty.

I am well aware that the speech of Logan will be triumphantly quoted against me; and that it will be said, that the most splendid exhibition of Indian

eloquence may be found out of the pale of the Six Nations. I fully subscribe to the eulogium of Mr. Jefferson, when he says, "I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished more eminent, to produce a single passage superior to the speech of Logan." But let it be remembered that Logan was a Mingo chief, the second son of Shikellemus, a celebrated Cayuga chief, and consequently belonged to the Confederates, although he did not live in their patrimonial territory. The Iroquois had sent out several colonies; one of them was settled at Sandusky, and was estimated to contain three hundred warriors, in 1768. Another was established on a branch of the Scioto, and had sixty warriors in 1779.*

To this I may add the testimony of Charlevoix, who may be justly placed in the first rank of able and learned writers on American affairs, and who entertained all the prejudices of his country against the confederacy. Speaking of Joncaire, who had been adopted by the Senecas, and who had obtained their consent for the establishment of a fort at Niagara, he says, "Il parla avec tout l'esprit d'un François, qui en a beaucoup et la plus sublime eloquence Iroquoise." He spoke with all the energetic spirit of a Frenchman, and with the most sublime eloquence of an Iroquois.†

It cannot, I presume, be doubted, but that the Confederates were a peculiar and extraordinary people, contradistinguished from the mass of the Indian nations by great attainments in polity, in government, in negotiation, in eloquence, and in

* Jefferson's Notes.

† Charlevoix, letter 15. p. 243. Quere. Is this the Captain Joncaire who is mentioned in General (then Colonel) Washington's Journal of his mission to the Ohio? See Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 2. note. 1.

war. La Hontan asserts that "they are of a larger stature, and withal, more valiant and cunning than the other nations."* Charlevoix derives their name of Agonnonsioni, from their superior skill and taste in architecture.† The perspicacious and philosophical Pennant, after fully weighing their character, qualities, and physical conformation, pronounced them the descendants of the Tschutski, who reside on a peninsula, which forms the most northeasterly part of Asia; who are a free and brave race; and, in size and figure, superior to every neighbouring nation. The Russians have never been able to effect their conquest. They cherish a high sense of liberty; constantly refuse to pay tribute; and are supposed to have sprung from that fine race of Tartars, the Kabardinski, or inhabitants of Kabarda.‡

But there is a striking discrimination between this nation and the great body of the Indian tribes, which remains to be mentioned. Charlevoix has the singular merit of having rejected the common mode of ascertaining the identity of national origin, from a coincidence in customs and manners; and of having pointed out a similarity of language as the best and the surest criterion. As far back as La Hontan, whose voyages were published in 1703, and who was well acquainted with the Indian languages, it was understood by him, that there were but two mother tongues, the Huron and the Algonkin, in the whole extent of Canada, as far west as the Mississippi; and in a list which he gives of the Indian nations, it appears that they all spoke the Algonkin language in different dialects, except the Hurons and the Confederates; the difference between whose languages, he considers as not greater

* Vol. 2. p. 4.
† Charlevoix, vol. 1. b. 6. p. 271.
‡ Pennant's Arctic Zoology, vol. 1. p. 181. 186. 262.

than that between the Norman and the French. This opinion has been supported and confirmed by the concurring testimony of Carver, Charlevoix, Rogers, Barton, Edwards, Mackenzie, and Pike. with these qualifications, that the Sioux, or Naudowessies, and the Assiniboils, together with many nations of Indians to the west of the Mississippi, speak a distinct original language; and it is not perfectly settled, whether the Creeks, and the other southern Indians in their vicinity, use a parent language; or under which of the three great parent ones theirs must be classed. Carver speaks of the Chippewa; Edwards, of the Mohegan; Barton, of the Delaware; Rogers, of the Ottaway, as the most prevailing language in North America; but they all agree in the similarity. Dr. Edwards asserts, that the language of the Delawares, in Pennsylvania; of the Penobscots, bordering on Nova Scotia; of the Indians of St. Francis, in Canada; of the Shawanese, on the Ohio; of the Chippewas, at the westward of Lake Huron; of the Ottawas, Nanticockes, Munsees, Minonionees, Misiuagues, Sasskies, Ottagamies, Killestones, Mipegois, Algonkins, Winnebagoes; and of the several tribes in New-England, are radically the same; and the variations are to be accounted for from the want of letters, and of communication. On the other hand, that the Confederates and the Hurons were originally of the same stock, may be inferred, not only from the sameness of their language, but from their division into similar tribes.* From this, we may

* Trumbull's Connecticut, vol. 1. p. 43. Henry's Travels in Canada, p. 250. 290. 325. Carver's Travels, p. 170. Mackenzie's Voyages, p. 280. Charlevoix, vol. 3. letters 11th and 12th. Jeffery's Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America, p. 45. 50. Roger's North America, p. 246. Barton's View, p. 470. Pike's Expedition, p. 65. Edwards' Observations on the Language of the Muhhekanew Indians. La Hontan's New Voyages, vol. 1. p. 270. vol. 2. p. 287.

rationally conclude, that those nations were descended from an Asiatic stock, radically different from that of the great body of Indians, who were spread over North America; and that the superior qualities of the Iroquois may be ascribed, as well to the superiority of their origin, as to the advantages of position, the maxims of policy, and the principles of education, which distinguished them from the other red inhabitants of this western world. And they were, indeed, at all times ready and willing to cherish the sentiment of exaltation which they felt; and believing that they excelled the rest of mankind, they called themselves *Ongue-Honwe*; that is, men surpassing all others.*

It is extremely difficult to speak, with any precision, of the ancient population of the Indian nations. The Powhatan confederacy, or empire, as it was called, contained one inhabitant for every square mile; and the proportion of warriors to the whole number of inhabitants was as three to ten.† If this is to afford a just rule for estimating the Confederates, it would be easy to ascertain their number, and to adjust the relative proportion of their fighting men. Supposing their patrimonial or dwelling country to be three hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth, the whole number of square miles would be thirty thousand; and the number of souls the same.‡ Some writers state the number of their warriors, at the first Eu-

* Colden, vol. 1. p. 2.

† Jefferson's Notes, p. 141, &c.

‡ On this subject see Trumbull's History of the United States, vol. 1. p. 30, &c. Williams' Vermont, vol. 1. p. 215, &c. Douglass' Summary, vol. 1. p. 185. Mass. Historical Society, vol. 5. p. 13. 16. 23. &c. Mass. Historical Society, vol. 10. p. 122, &c. Morse's Gazetteer of the Six Nations. La Hontan, vol. 1. p. 23, &c. Jefferson's Notes, p. 151. Holmes' American Annals, vol. 1. p. 45. Holmes' American Annals, vol. 2. p. 137.

ropean settlement, to be fifteen thousand, which would make a population of fifty thousand. La Hontan says, that each village, or canton, contained about fourteen thousand souls; that is, one thousand five hundred that bear arms, two thousand superannuated men, four thousand women, two thousand maids, and four thousand children; though, indeed, some say, that each village has not above ten or eleven thousand souls. On the first statement they would have seven thousand five hundred, and on the last about five thousand three hundred and sixty fighting men.

Col. Coursey, an agent of Virginia, had in 1677, a conference with the Five Nations at Albany. The number of warriors was estimated, at that time and place, as follows:

Mohawks, ...	300
Oneidas, ...	200
Onondagas, ...	350
Cayugas, ...	300
Senecas, ...	1,000
Total,	2,150

which would make the whole population near seven thousand two hundred.*

* Vide Chalmer's Political Annals, p. 606. which contains the journey of Wentworth and Greenshulp, from Albany to the Five Nations, begun 28th May, 1677, and ended 14th July following. The Mohawks had four towns and one village, containing only one hundred houses. The Oneidas had one town, containing one hundred houses. The Onondagas, one town, one hundred and forty houses, and one village, twenty-four houses. The Cayugas, three towns of about one hundred houses in all. The Senecas, four towns, containing three hundred and twenty-four houses. The warriors the same precisely as in Col. Coursey's statement. (Cours. p. 21.) In the whole, seven hundred and eighty-four houses; which would make nearly three warriors and ten inhabitants for each house.

Smith says, that in 1756, the whole number of fighting men was about one thousand two hundred. Douglass says, that in 1760, it was one thousand five hundred. In the first case, the whole population would be four thousand; and in the last, five thousand.

In 1764, Col. Bouquet, from the information of a French trader, stated the whole number of inhabitants to be one thousand five hundred and fifty. Captain Hutchins, who visited most of the Indian nations for the express purpose of learning their number, represents them to be two thousand one hundred and twenty in 1768; and Dodge, an Indian trader, says, that in 1779 they were one thousand six hundred. These three estimates are taken from Jefferson's Notes on Virginia; and, although they apparently relate to the whole population, yet I am persuaded, that the statements were only intended to embrace the number of warriors.

During the revolutionary war, the British had in their service, according to the calculation of a British agent,

Mohawks, - - - - - -	300
Oneidas, - - - - - -	150
Tuscaroras, - - - - -	200
Onondagas, - - - - -	300
Cayugas, - - - - - -	230
Senecas, - - - - - -	400
Total,	1,580

If to these we add two hundred and twenty warriors who adhered to the United States, the whole number of fighting men would be one thousand eight hundred.

In 1783, Mr. Kirkland, the missionary, estimated the number of warriors in the Seneca nation, at six hundred. This would make the whole population two thousand; and as the Senecas then com-

posed nearly one half of the whole Confederacy, the fighting men would be about one thousand two hundred, and the total number of inhabitants, upward of four thousand. In 1790, he calculated the whole population of the Confederacy, including those who reside on Grand River in Canada, and the Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, to be six thousand three hundred and thirty. This would make the number of warriors near one thousand nine hundred.

In 1794, on the division of an annuity of four thousand five hundred dollars, given to them by the United States, their number was ascertained with considerable precision; each individual in the Confederacy (except those residing in the British dominions) receiving an equal share.

	IN THE UNITED STATES.	BRITISH LINES.
Mohawks,		300
Oneidas,	628	460
Cayugas,	40	
Onondagas,	450	760
Tuscaroras,	400	
Senecas,	1780	
	3298	
	760	
Total,	4,058	

The Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, are not included. This would make the number of fighting men, one thousand three hundred and fifty-two.

These various estimates evince the great uncertainty prevailing on this subject. While La Hontan exaggerates the population of the Confederacy, Smith evidently underrates it. We know that in their wars they often sent out considerable armies. They attacked the Island of Montreal with one

thousand two hundred men; and in 1683, one thousand marched, at one time, against the Ottagamies. The first was in 1689, twelve years after Col. Coursey's estimate. Supposing that one thousand two hundred warriors were at that time at home, and otherwise employed, the whole number would then be about two thousand four hundred; which show a considerable coincidence between the two statements. On one point there is, however, no uncertainty. Ever since the men of Europe landed on the shores of America, there has been a diminution of the number of Aborigines; sometimes rapid, at other times gradual. The present condition of the Confederates furnishes an admonitory lesson to human pride; and adds another proof to the many on record, that nations, like individuals, are destined by Providence to dissolution. Their patrimonial estates, their ancient dwelling lands, are now crowded with a white population, excepting some reservations in the Oneida, Onondaga and Seneca countries. The Mohawks abandoned their country during the war; and the Cayugas have since the peace. A remnant of the Tuscaroras reside on three miles square, near the Niagara River, on lands given to them by the Senecas and the Holland land company. The Oneida reservation does not contain more than ten thousand acres; and the Onondaga is still smaller. The Senecas have their principal settlement at Buffaloe Creek. Their reservations are extensive and valuable, containing more than one hundred and sixty thousand acres: and they possess upward of one hundred thousand dollars in the stock of the late bank of the United States.

The Six Nations have lost their high character and elevated standing. They are, in general, addicted to idleness and drunkenness; the remnant of their eloquence and military spirit, as well as na-

tional strength, is to be found only among the Senecas. Their ancient men, who have witnessed the former glory and prosperity of their country, and who have heard from the mouths of their ancestors, the heroic achievements of their countrymen, weep like infants, when they speak of the fallen condition of the nation. They, however, derive some consolation from a prophecy of ancient origin and universal currency among them, that the man of America will, at some future time, regain his ancient ascendency, and expel the man of Europe from this western hemisphere. This flattering and consolatory persuasion has restrained, in some degree, their vicious propensities; has enabled the Seneca and Shawanese prophets to arrest in some tribes the use of intoxicating liquors, and has given birth, at different periods, to certain movements toward a general confederacy of the savages of North America. That they consider the white man an enemy and an intruder, who has expelled them from their country, is most certain; and they cherish this antipathy with so much rancour, that when they abandon their settlements, they make it a rule never to disclose to him any mineral substances or springs, which may redound to his convenience or advantage.

The causes of their degradation and diminution, are principally to be found in their baneful communication with the man of Europe; which has contaminated their morals, destroyed their population, robbed them of their country, and deprived them of their national spirit. Indeed, when we consider, that the discovery and settlement of America, have exterminated millions of the red men, and entailed upon the sable inhabitants of Africa, endless and destructive wars, captivity, slavery and death, we have reason to shudder at the gloomy perspective, and to apprehend that, in the retributive justice of

the Almighty, "there may be some hidden thunder in the stores of Heaven, red with uncommon wrath;"* some portentous cloud, pregnant with the elements of destruction, ready to burst upon European America, and to entail upon us those calamities which we have so wantonly and wickedly inflicted upon others.

A nation that derives its subsistence, principally, from the forest, cannot live in the vicinity of one that relies upon the products of the field. The clearing of the country drives off the wild beasts; and when the game fails, the hunter must starve, change his occupation, or retire from the approach of cultivation. The Savage has invariably preferred the last. The Mohawks were, at one period, the most numerous canton; but they soon became the smallest. This was on account of their propinquity to the whites; while the Senecas, who are most remote, are the most populous. There are two other causes which have contributed to the destruction of the Mohawks; their extreme ferocity, which distinguished them from the other cantons, and which exposed them to greater perils; and the early seduction of a part of their nation by the French, who prevailed upon them to migrate to Canada. The scarcity of food has also been augmented by other causes, besides that of cultivating the ground. Formerly they killed for the sake of subsistence: the Europeans instigated them to kill for the sake of the furs and skins. The use of fire-arms has had the effect, by the explosion of powder, of frightening away the game; and at the same time, of enabling the savage to compass their destruction with greater facility, than by hisancient weapon the bow and arrow, whose execution was less certain, and whose operation was less terrific.

* Addison's Cato.

The old Scythian propensity for wandering from place to place, and to make distant excursions, predominates among them. Some, after an absence of twenty years, have again shown themselves, while others never return. Many of the Iroquois are amalgamated with the western Indians. In 1759, a colony of the Confederates, who had been brought up from their infancy under the Roman Catholic Missionaries, and instructed by them at a village, within nine miles of Montreal, emigrated to the banks of the Saskatchiwine River, beyond Lake Winnipeg.*

The endless and destructive wars in which they have been involved, have also been a principal cause of diminishing their population. The number of births among savage, is always inferior to that among civilized nations, where subsistence is easier, and where the female sex are considered the companions, the friends, and the equals of man; and are associated and connected with him by the silken ties of choice and affection, not by the iron chains of compulsion and slavery. In times of war, the number of deaths among the Indians generally exceeded that of the births; and the Iroquois, for the last fifty years, not having been able to execute to any great extent their system of adoption, have experienced a correspondent diminution. The manner of savage warfare is also peculiarly destructive. Among civilized nations, great armies are brought into the field at once; and a few years, and a great battle, decide the fortune of the war, and produce a peace. Among Indians, wars are carried on by small detachments, and in detail, and for a long time. Among the former they operate like amputation; a limb is cut off, and the remainder of the body lives; but with savages, they resemble a slow and

* Mackenzie, vol. 1. p. 208.

wasting disease, which gradually undermines the vital principle, and destroys the whole system.

Before their acquaintance with the man of Europe they were visited by dreadful diseases, which depopulated whole countries. Just before the settlement of New-England, some whole nations were swept off by a pestilence. The whites introduced that terrible enemy of barbarous nations, the small pox, as well in the north of Asia as in America. Kamschatka was very populous until the arrival of the Russians; a dreadful visitation of the small pox, in 1767, nearly exterminated its inhabitants.* In 1779 and 1780, the small pox spread among the Killistinoes, or Kanistenaux, and Chepewyans, "with a baneful rapidity that no flight could escape, and with a fatal effect that nothing could resist."† Nine tenths of the northern Indians, so called by Hearne, were cut off by it.‡ In 1670, this disease depopulated the north of Canada.§ A whole nation, called the Attetramasues, were destroyed. The vicinity of the Confederates to the European settlements, and their constant intercourse, have exposed them continually to its visitations; and their method of cure being the same in all diseases, immersion in cold water after a vapor bath, has aggravated its ravages. Their imitation of the European dress, has also substituted a lighter mode of clothing in lieu of warm furs; by which, and their exposure to the elements, they are peculiarly subjected to consumptions and inflammatory complaints. Longevity is, however, by no means uncommon among them. In their settlements you see some very old people.

* Pennant, vol 1. p. 215. † Mackenzie, vol. 1. p. 17.
‡ Hearne's Journey to the Northern Ocean, p. 178.
§ Jeffery, before quoted, p. 110. Herriot, p. 132.

Need I add to this melancholy catalogue, the use of spirituous liquors, which has realized among them the fabulous effects of the bohon upas, which has been to them "the Hydra of calamities; the sevenfold death,"* and which has palsied all their energies, enfeebled their minds, destroyed their bodies, rendered them inferior to the beasts of the forest, and operated upon them as destructively as

> "———famine, war, or spotted pestilence,
> Baneful as death, and horrible as hell."†

At the treaty held in Lancaster in 1744, the Five Nations addressed the colonies of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, as follows: "We heartily recommend union and a good agreement between you our brethren. Never disagree, but preserve a strict friendship for one another; and thereby you, as well as we, will become the stronger. Our wise forefathers established amity and friendship among the Five Nations. This has made us formidable, and has given us great weight and authority with the neighbouring nations. We are a powerful confederacy; and by your observing the same means which our wise forefathers pursued, you will acquire fresh strength and power. Therefore, whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another."‡ This ancient and cementing principle of union and fraternity, which has connected them in friendship, and which was the basis of their power and the pillar of their greatness, has been entirely driven from them. The fury of discord has blown her horn, and rendered them the prey of the most ferocious and unrelenting passions. Party, in all its forms and violence, rages among them with uncontrolled sway. Their nations are split up into

* Young's Revenge. † Rowe's Jane Shore.
‡ Colden, vol. 2. p. 113.

fragments; the son is arrayed against the father; brother against brother; families against families; tribes against tribes; and canton against canton. They are divided into factions, religious, political and personal; Christian and Pagan; American and British; the followers of Cornplanter and Sagoua-Ha; of Skonadoi and Capt. Peter. The minister of destruction is hovering over them, and before the passing away of the present generation, not a single Iroquois will be seen in this state.

It would be an unpardonable omission, not to mention, while treating on this subject, that there is every reason to believe, that previous to the occupancy of this country by the progenitors of the present nations of Indians, it was inhabited by a race of men much more populous, and much further advanced in civilization. The numerous remains of ancient fortifications, which are found in this country, commencing principally near the Onondaga River, and from thence spreading over the Military Tract, the Genessee country, and the lands of the Holland Land Company, over the territory adjoining the Ohio and its tributary streams, the country on Lake Erie, and extending even west of the Mississippi, demonstrate a population far exceeding that of the Indians when this country was first settled.

I have seen several of these works in the western parts of this state. There is a large one in the town of Onondaga; one in Pompey, and another in Manlius; one in Camillus, eight miles from Auburn; one in Scipio, six miles; another one mile; and one, half a mile from that village. Between the Seneca and Cayuga Lakes there are several; three within a few miles of each other. Near the village of Canadaigue there are three. In a word, they are scattered all over that country.*

* On the subject of these ancient fortifications, see Charlevoix, vol. 1. b. 11. p. 533. Charlevoix, letter 23, vol. 3. p. 333. Ameri

These forts were, generally speaking, erected on the most commanding ground. The walls or breastworks were earthen. The ditches were on the exterior of the works. On some of the parapets, oak trees were to be seen, which, from the number of the concentric circles, must have been standing one hundred and fifty, two hundred and sixty, and three hundred years; and there were evident indications, not only that they had sprung up since the erection of those works, but that they were at least a second growth. The trenches were in some cases deep and wide, and in others shallow and narrow; and the breast works varied in altitude from three to eight feet. They sometimes had one, and sometimes two entrances, as was to be inferred from there being no ditch at those places. When the works were protected by a deep ravine, or a large stream of water, no ditch was to be seen. The areas of these forts varied from two to six acres; and the form was generally an irregular ellipsis; and in some of them fragments of earthen ware and pulverized substances, supposed to have been originally human bones, were to be found.

can Museum, vol. 6. p. 29. 233. Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. 3. p. 23; Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. 4. p. 101. 107. Imlay's Kentucky, p. 379. Herriot's Canada, p. 14 to 26. Belknap's American Biography, vol. 1. p. 194—196. History of Virginia, anonymous, published in London, 1722, p. 149. Carver's Travels, p. 37. Volney's United States, p. 486. Barton's Medical and Physical Journal, vol. 1. part 1. p. 97. Ibid, part. 2. p. 80. Ibid. vol. 2. part 1. p. 187. Adair's Indians, p. 377. New-York Magazine, January, 1793, p. 28. Michaux's Travels to the Westward of the Alleghany Mountains in 1802, vol. 1. Columbian Magazine for 1787, vol. 1. No. 9. Shultz's Inland Voyage, vol. 1. p. 146. American Philosophical Transactions, vol. 6. p. 132. Medical Repository, 3d Hexade, vol. 2. No. 2. p. 146. Rogers' Concise Account of North America, p. 247. Harris's Tour in 1803 into the State of Ohio, p. 149, &c. Hubbard's Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England, p. 32. 106. Williamson on the Climate, &c. of America, p. 189.

These fortifications, thus diffused over the interior of our country, have been generally considered as surpassing the skill, patience and industry of the Indian race; and various hypotheses have been advanced to prove them of European origin.

An American writer of no inconsiderable repute pronounced some years ago, that the two forts at the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio rivers, one covering forty and the other twenty acres, were erected by Ferdinand de Soto, who landed with one thousand men in Florida in 1539, and penetrated a considerable distance into the interior of the country. He allotted the large fort for the use of the Spanish army; and after being extremely puzzled how to dispose of the small one in its vicinity, he at last assigned it to the swine, that generally, as he says, attended the Spaniards in those days; being in his opinion very necessary, in order to prevent them from becoming estrays, and to protect them from the depredations of the Indians.

When two ancient forts, one containing six and the other three acres, were found near Lexington in Kentucky, another theory was propounded, and it was supposed that they were erected by the descendants of the Welch colony, who are said to have migrated under the auspices of Madoc to this country, in the twelfth century; that they formerly inhabited Kentucky; but being attacked by the Indians, were forced to take refuge near the sources of the Missouri.

Another suggestion has been made, that the French, in their expeditions from Canada to the Mississipi, were the authors of these works: but the most numerous are to be found in the territory of the Senecas, whose hostility to the French was such, that they were not allowed for a long time to have any footing among them.* The fort at Nia-

* Colden, vol. 1. p. 61.

gara was obtained from them, by the intrigues and eloquence of Joncaire, an adopted child of the nation.*

Louis Dennie, a Frenchman, aged upward of seventy, and who has been settled and married among the confederates for more than half a century, told me that according to the traditions of the ancient Indians, these forts were erected by an army of Spaniards, who were the first Europeans ever seen by them; the French the next; then the Dutch; and finally the English: that his army first appeared at Oswego in great force, and penetrated though the interior of the country, searching for the precious metals; that they continued there two years, and went down the Ohio.

Some of the Senecas told Mr. Kirkland the missionary, that those in their territory were raised by their ancestors in their wars with the western Indians, three, four or five hundred years ago. All the cantons have traditions, that their ancestors came originally from the west; and the Senecas say that theirs first settled in the country of the Creeks. The early histories mention, that the Iroquois first inhabited on the north side of the great lakes; that they were driven to their present territory in a war with the Algonkins or Adirondacks, from whence they expelled the Satanas. If these accounts are correct, the ancestors of the Senecas did not, in all probability, occupy their present territory, at the time they allege.

I believe we may confidently pronounce, that all the hypotheses which attribute those works to Europeans, are incorrect and fanciful: 1st. On account of the present number of the works. 2d. On account of their antiquity; having, from every appearance, been erected a long time before the dis-

* Charlevoix, vol. 3. letter 15. p. 227.

covery of America: and finally, their form and manner are totally variant from European fortifications, either in ancient or modern times.

It is equally clear that they were not the work of the Indians. Until the Senecas, who are renowned for their national vanity, had seen the attention of the Americans attracted to these erections, and had invented the fabulous account of which I have spoken, the Indians of the present day did not pretend to know any thing about their origin. They were beyond the reach of all their traditions, and were lost in the abyss of unexplored antiquity.

The erection of such prodigious works must have been the result of labour, far beyond the patience and perseverance of our Indians; and the form and materials are entirely different from those which they are known to make. These earthen walls, it is supposed, will retain their original form much longer than those constructed with brick and stone. They have, undoubtedly, been greatly diminished by the washing away of the earth, the filling up of the interior, and the accumulation of fresh soil; yet their firmness and solidity indicate them to be the work of some remote age. Add to this, that the Indians have never practised the mode of fortifying by intrenchments. Their villages or castles were protected by palisades; which afforded a sufficient defence against Indian weapons. When Cartier went to Hochelaga, now Montreal, in 1535, he discovered a town of the Iroquois, or Hurons, containing about fifty huts. It was encompassed with three lines of palisadoes, through which was one entrance, well secured with stakes and bars. On the inside was a rampart of timber, to which were ascents by ladders; and heaps of stones were laid in proper places to cast at an enemy. Charlevoix and other writers agree, in representing the Indian fortresses as fabricated with

wood. Such also were the forts of Sasacus, the great chief of the Pequots; and the principal fortress of the Narragansets was on an island in a swamp, of five or six acres of rising land: the sides were made with palisades set upright, encompassed with a hedge, of a rod in thickness.*

I have already alluded to the argument for the great antiquity of those ancient forts, to be derived from the number of concentric circles. On the ramparts of one of the Muskingum forts, four hundred and sixty three were ascertained on a tree, decayed at the centre; and there are likewise the strongest marks of a former growth of a similar size. This would make those works near a thousand years old.

But there is another consideration which has never before been urged, and which appears to me to be not unworthy of attention. It is certainly novel, and I believe it to be founded on a basis, which cannot easily be subverted.

From near the Genesee river to Lewiston, on the Niagara river, there is a remarkable ridge or elevation of land, running almost the whole distance, which is seventy-eight miles, and in a direction from east to west. Its general altitude above the neighbouring land is thirty feet, and its width varies considerably: in some places it is not more than forty yards. Its elevation above the level of lake Ontario is perhaps one hundred and sixty feet, to which it descends by a gradual slope; and its distance from that water is between six and ten miles. This remarkable strip of land, would appear as if intended by nature for the purpose of an easy communication. It is in fact, a stupendous natural turnpike, descending gently on each side, and covered with gravel; and but little labour is requisite

* Mather's Magnalia, p. 693.

to make it the best road in the United States. When the forests between it and the lake are cleared, the prospects and scenery which will be afforded from a tour on this route to the cataract of Niagara, will surpass all competition for sublimity and beauty, variety and number.

There is every reason to believe, that this remarkable ridge was the ancient boundary of this great lake. The gravel with which it is covered was deposited there by the waters; and the stones every where indicate, by their shape, the abrasion and agitation produced by that element. All along the borders of the western rivers and lakes, there are small mounds or heaps of gravel, of a conical form, erected by the fish for the protection of their spawn: these fish banks are found in a state that cannot be mistaken, at the foot of the ridge, on the side toward the lake; on the opposite side none have been discovered. All rivers and streams which enter the lake from the south, have their mouths affected with sand in a peculiar way, from the prevalence and power of the northwesterly winds. The points of the creeks which pass through this ridge, correspond exactly in appearance with the entrance of the streams into the lakes. These facts evince, beyond doubt, that Lake Ontario has, perhaps one or two thousand years ago, receded from this elevated ground. And the cause of this retreat must be ascribed to its having enlarged its former outlet, or to its imprisoned waters (aided, probably, by an earthquake) forcing a passage down the present bed of the St. Lawrence; as the Hudson did at the Highlands, and the Mohawk at the Little Falls. On the south side of this great ridge, in its vicinity, and in all directions through this country, the remains of numerous forts are to be seen; but on the north side; that is, on the side toward the lake, not a single one has been disco-

vered, although the whole ground has been carefully explored. Considering the distance to be, say seventy miles in length, and eight in breath, and that the border of the lake is the very place that would be selected for habitation, and consequently for works of defence, on account of the facilities it would afford for subsistence, for safety, for all domestic accommodations and military purposes; and that on the south shores of Lake Erie, these ancient fortresses exist in great number, there can be no doubt but that these works were erected, when this ridge was the southern boundary of Lake Ontario, and, consequently, that their origin must be sought in a very remote age.

A great part of North America was then inhabited by populous nations, who had made considerable advances in civilization. These numerous works could never have been supplied with provisions, without the aid of agriculture. Nor could they have been constructed without the use of iron or copper; and without a perseverance, labour, and design, which demonstrate considerable progress in the arts of civilized life. A learned writer has said, "I perceive no reason why the Asiatic North might not be an officina virorum, as well as the European. The over-teeming country to the east of the Riphæan mountains, must find it necessary to discharge its inhabitants. The first great wave of people was forced forward by the next to it, more tumid and more powerful than itself: successive and new impulses continually arriving, short rest was given to that which spread over a more eastern tract; disturbed again and again, it covered fresh regions. At length, reaching the farthest limits of the old world, it found a new one, with ample space to occupy, unmolested, for ages."* After the north of

* Pennant's Arctic Zoology, vol. 1. p. 260.

Asia had thus exhausted its exuberant population by such a great migration, it would require a very long period of time to produce a cooperation of causes, sufficient to effect another. The first mighty stream of people that flowed into America, must have remained free from external pressure for ages. Availing themselves of this period of tranquillity, they would devote themselves to the arts of peace, make rapid progress in civilization, and acquire an immense population. In course of time, discord and war would rage among them, and compel the establishment of places of security. At last, they became alarmed by the irruption of a horde of barbarians, who rushed like an overwhelming flood from the North of Asia.

> A multitude, like which the populous North
> Poured from her frozen loins, to pass
> Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
> Came like a deluge on the South, and spread
> Beneath Gibralter to the Lybian sands.*

The great law of self preservation compelled them to stand on their defence, to resist these ruthless invaders, and to construct numerous and extensive works for protection. And for a long series of time the scale of victory was suspended in doubt, and they firmly withstood the torrent: but like the Romans in the decline of their empire, they were finally worn down and destroyed, by successive inroads, and renewed attacks. And the fortifications of which we have treated, are the only remaining monuments of these ancient and exterminated nations. This is, perhaps, the airy nothing of imagination, and may be reckoned the extravagant dream of a visionary mind: but may we not, considering the wonderful events of the past and pre-

* Milton's Paradise Lost, book 1. p. 62.

sent times, and the inscrutable dispensations of an over-ruling providence, may we not look forward into futurity, and without departing from the rigid laws of probability, predict the occurrence of similar scenes, at some remote period of time. And, perhaps, in the decrepitude of our empire, some transcendent genius, whose powers of mind shall only be bounded by that impenetrable circle which prescribes the limits of human nature,* may rally the barbarous nations of Asia, under the standard of a mighty empire. Following the tract of the Russian colonies and commerce toward the northwest coast, and availing himself of the navigation, arms, and military skill of civilized nations, he may, after subverting the neighbouring despotisms of the old world, bend his course toward European America. The destinies of our country may then be decided on the waters of the Missouri, or on the banks of Lake Superior. And if Asia shall then revenge upon our posterity, the injuries we have inflicted on her sons, a new, a long, and a gloomy night of gothic darkness will set in upon mankind. And when, after the efflux of ages, the returning effulgence of intellectual light shall again gladden the nations, then the wide-spread ruins of our cloud-capp'd towers, of our solemn temples, and of our magnificent cities, will, like the works of which we have treated, become the subject of curious research and elaborate investigation.

* Roscoe's Lorenzo De Medicis, p. 241.

APPENDIX, No. I.

(From Smith's History of New-York, page 46.)

Monsieur De La Barre's Speech, addressed to Garangula, an Onondaga Chief, the Indians and French officers at the same time forming a circle round about him.

"The king, my master, being informed that the Five Nations have often infringed the peace, has ordered me to come hither with a guard, and to send Ohguesse to the Onondagas, to bring the chief sachems to my camp. The intention of the great king is, that you and I may smoke the calumet of peace together; but on this condition, that you promise me, in the name of the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Mohawks, to give entire satisfaction and reparation to his subjects, and for the future never to molest them.

"The Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks, have robbed and abused all the traders that were passing to the Illinois and Miamies, and other Indian nations, the children of my king; they have acted, on these occasions, contrary to the treaty of peace with my predecessor. I am ordered, therefore, to demand satisfaction; and to tell them, that in case of refusal, or their plundering us any more, that I have express orders to declare war. This belt confirms my words. The warriors of the Five Nations have conducted the English into the lakes, which belong to the king, my master, and brought the English among the nations that are his children to destroy the trade of

his subjects, and to withdraw these nations from him. They have carried the English thither, notwithstanding the prohibition of the late governor of New-York, who foresaw the risk that both they and you would run. I am willing to forget those things; but if ever the like should happen for the future, I have express orders to declare war against you. This belt confirms my words. Your warriors have made several barbarous incursions on the Illinois and Miamies. They have massacred men, women, and children; they have made many of these nations prisoners, who thought themselves safe in their villages in time of peace. These people, who are my king's children, must not be your slaves: you must give them their liberty, and send them back into their own country. If the Five Nations shall refuse to do this, I have express orders to declare war against them. This belt confirms my words.

"This is what I have to say to Garangula, that he may carry to the Senecas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Mohawks, the declaration which the king, my master, has commanded me to make. He doth not wish them to force him to send a great army to Cadarackui fort, to begin a war, which must be fatal to them. He would be sorry that this fort, that was the work of peace, should become the prison of your warriors. We must endeavour on both sides to prevent such misfortunes. The French, who are the brethren and friends of the Five Nations, will never trouble their repose, provided that the satisfaction which I demand be given; and that the treaties of peace be hereafter observed. I shall be extremely grieved if my words do not produce the effect which I expect from them; for then I shall be obliged to join with the governor of New-York, who is commanded by his master to assist

me, and burn the castles of the Five Nations, and destroy you. This belt confirms my words."

Garangula, after walking five or six times round the circle, answered the French governor, who sat in an elbow chair, in the following strain:

"YONNONDIO,

"I honour you, and the warriors that are with me likewise honour you. Your interpreter has finished your speech: I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your ears; hearken to them.

"Yonnondio, you must have believed, when you left Quebec, that the sun had burnt up all the forests, which render our country inaccessible to the French, or that the lakes had so far overflown the banks, that they had surrounded our castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, Yonnondio, surely you must have dreamt so; and the curiosity of seeing so great a wonder, has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, since that I and the warriors here present, are come to assure you that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks, are yet alive. I thank you in their name for bringing back into their country the calumet which your predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you that you left under ground that murdering hatchet which has been so often died in the blood of the French. Hear, Yonnondio; I do not sleep; I have my eyes open, and the sun which enlightens me, discovers to me a great captain at the head of a company of soldiers, who speaks as if he were dreaming. He says that he only came to the lake to smoke on the great calumet with the Onondagas; but Garangula says that he sees the contrary; that

it was to knock them on the head, if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French.

"I see Yonnondio raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the great spirit has saved, by inflicting this sickness on them. Hear, Yonnondio: our women had taken their clubs; our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our warriors had not disarmed them, and kept them back, when your messenger Ohguesse came to our castles. It is done, and I have said it. Hear, Yonnondio; we plundered none of the French but those that carried guns, powder and ball to the Twightwies and Chictaghicks, because those arms might have cost us our lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jesuits, who stave all the kegs of rum brought to our castles, lest the drunken Indians should knock them on the head. Our warriors have not beaver enough to pay for all these arms that they have taken; and our old men are not afraid of the war. This belt preserves my words.

"We carried the English into our lakes to trade there with the Utawawas and Quatoghies as the Andirondocks brought the French to our castles to carry on a trade, which the English say is theirs. We are born free. We neither depend on Yonnondio nor Corlear.

"We may go where we please, and carry with us whom we please. If your allies be your slaves, use them as such. Command them to receive no other but your people. This belt preserves my words.

"We knocked the Twightwies and Chictaghicks on the head because they had cut down the trees of peace, which were the limits of our country. They have hunted beavers on our land. They had acted contrary to the customs of all Indians; for they left none of the beavers alive: they killed both male and female. They brought the Satanas into

the country to take part with them, after they had concerted ill designs against us. We have done less than either the English or French, that have usurped the lands of so many Indian nations, and chased them from their own country. This belt preserves my words.

Hear, Yonnondio; what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations: hear what they answer. Open your ears to what they speak. The Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and the Mohawks, say, that when they buried the hatchet at the Cadarackui (in the presence of your predecessor) in the middle of the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place, to be there carefully preserved, that in place of a retreat for soldiers, that fort might be a rendezvous for merchants; that in place of arms and ammunition of war, beavers and merchandize should only enter there.

"Hear, Yonnondio; take care for the future, that so great a number of soldiers as appear there do not choke the tree of peace planted in so small a fort. It will be a great loss, if after it had so easily taken root, you should stop its growth, and prevent its covering your country and ours with its branches. I assure you, in the name of the Five Nations, that our warriors shall dance to the calumet of peace under its leaves, and shall remain quiet on their mats, and shall never dig up the hatchet till their brother, Yonnondio, or Corlear, shall, either jointly or separately, endeavour to attack the country, which the great spirit has given to our ancestors. This belt preserves my words; and this other, the authority which the Five Nations have given me."

Then Garangula, addressing himself to Monsieur La Main, said, "take courage, Ohguesse, you have spirit, speak—explain my words; forget nothing; tell all that your brethren and friends say

to Yonnondio, your governor, by the mouth of Garangula, who loves you, and desires you to accept of this present of beaver, and take part with me in my feast to which I invite you. This present of beaver is sent to Yonnondio on the part of the Five Nations.

APPENDIX, No. II.

Speech of the Mohawk Chiefs to the Magistrates of Albany, on the 25th of March, 1689—90, after the destruction of Schenectady.

"BRETHREN,

"The murder of our brethren at Schenectady by the French, grieves us as much as if it had been done to ourselves, for we are in the same chain; and no doubt our brethren of New England will be likewise sadly affected with this cruel action of the French. The French on this occasion have not acted like brave men, but like thieves and robbers. Be not therefore discouraged. We give this belt to wipe away your tears.

"BRETHREN,

"We lament the death of so many of our brethren, whose blood has been shed at Schenectady. We don't think that what the French have done can be called a victory, it is only a farther proof of their cruel deceit. The governor of Canada sends to Onondaga, and talks to us of peace with our whole house, but war was in his heart, as you may now see by woful experience. He did the same formerly at Cadarackui, and in the Senecas country. This is the third time he has acted so deceitfully. He has broken open our house at both ends, formerly in the Senecas country, and now here. We hope, however, to be revenged of them. One hundred of our bravest young men are in pursuit

of them; they are brisk fellows, and they will follow the French to their doors. We will beset them so closely, that not a man in Canada shall dare to step out of doors to cut a stick of wood; but now we gather up our dead to bury them, by this second belt.

"BRETHREN,

"We came from our castles with tears in our eyes, to bemoan the blood shed at Schenectady by the perfidious French. While we bury our dead murdered at Schenectady, we know not what may have befallen our own people, that are in pursuit of the enemy: they may be dead. What has befallen you may happen to us; and therefore we come to bury our brethren at Schenectady with this third belt.

"Great and sudden is the mischief, as if it had fallen from Heaven upon us. Our forefathers taught us to go with all speed to bemoan and lament with our brethren, when any disaster or misfortune happens to any in our chain. Take this belt of vigilance, that you may be more watchful for the future. We give our brethren eye water to make them sharp sighted. (Giving a fourth belt.)

"We now come to the house where we usually renew the chain; but alas! we find the house polluted with blood. All the Five Nations have heard of this, and we are come to wipe away the blood, and clean the house. We come to invite Corlear, and every one of you, and Quider, (calling to every one of the principal men present by their names) to be revenged of the enemy, by this fifth belt.

"BRETHREN,

"Be not discouraged; we are strong enough. This is the beginning of your war, and the whole

house have their eyes fixed upon you at this time, to observe your behaviour. They wait your motion, and are ready to join in any resolute measures.

"Our chain is a strong chain; it is a silver chain; it can neither rust nor be broken. We, as to our parts, are resolute to continue the war.

"We will never desist, so long as a man of us remains. Take heart; do not pack up and go away;* this will give heart to a dastardly enemy. We are of the race of the bear; and a bear, you know, never yields, while one drop of blood is left. We must all be bears. (Giving a sixth belt.)

"BRETHREN,

"Be patient; this disaster is an affliction which has fallen from Heaven upon us. The sun, which hath been cloudy, and sent this disaster, will shine again with its pleasant beams. Take courage, courage—(Repeating the word several times as they gave a seventh belt.)

(*To the English.*)

"BRETHREN,

"Three years ago we were engaged in a bloody war with the French, and you encouraged us to proceed in it. Our success answered our expectation; but we were not well begun, when Corlear stopped us from going on. Had you permitted us to go on, the French would not now have been able to do us the mischief they have done—we would have prevented their sowing, planting, or reaping.

"We would have humbled them effectually, but now we die. The obstructions you then made

* This was spoken to the English, who were about removing from Albany.

now ruin us. Let us after this be steady, and take no such false measures for the future, but prosecute the war vigorously. (Giving a beaver skin.)

"The brethren must keep good watch, and if the enemy come again, send more speedily to us. Don't desert Schenectady. The enemy will glory in seeing it desolate. It will give them courage that had none before. Fortify the place; it is not well fortified now: The stockadoes are too short; the Indians can jump over them. (Gave a beaver skin.)

"BRETHREN,

"The mischief done at Schenectady cannot be helped now; but for the future, when the enemy appears any where, let nothing hinder your sending to us by expresses, and fire great guns, that all may be alarmed. We advise you to bring all the River Indians under your subjection to live near Albany, to be ready on all occasions.

"Send to New-England; tell them what has happened to you. They will undoubtedly awake, and lend us their helping hand. It is their interest, as much as ours, to push the war to a speedy conclusion. Be not discouraged; the French are not so numerous as some people talk. If we but heartily unite to push on the war, and mind our business, the French will soon be subdued."

The magistrates having returned an answer on the twenty-seventh, to the satisfaction of the Indians, they repeated it all over, word by word, to let the magistrates see how carefully they minded, and then added,

"BRETHREN,

"We are glad to find you are not discouraged. The best and wisest men sometimes make mistakes.

Let us now pursue the war vigorously. We have a hundred men out; they are good scouts. We expect to meet all the sachems of the other nations, as they come to condole with you. You need not fear our being ready at the first notice. Our ax is always in our hands; but take care that you be timely ready. Your ships, that must do the principal work, are long a fitting out. We do not design to go out with a small company, or in skulking parties; but as soon as the nations can meet, we shall be ready with our whole force. If you would bring this war to a happy issue, you must begin soon, before the French can recover the losses they have received from us, and get new vigour and life, therefore send in all haste to New-England. Neither you nor we can continue long in the condition we are now in: we must order matters so that the French be kept in continual fear and alarm at home; for this is the only way to be secure, and in peace here.

"The Scatikok Indians, in our opinion, are well placed where they are (to the northward of Albany;) they are a good out-guard; they are our children, and we must take care that they do their duty: but you must take care of the Indians below the town; place them near the town, so as they may be of more service to you."

APPENDIX, No. III.

Substance of the Speech of Good Peter to Governor Clinton and the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, at Albany, on the occasion referred to in the discourse.

Brother governor of the State of New-York, and all the other great chiefs of the state of New-York, open your ears, and all you chiefs of the Five Nations here assembled, open your ears.

The business we have now met about is of the greatest importance: how happy must we all be if we can arrange it for our mutual good.

We have this day assembled, and smoked our pipes in peace. That you may know the reason of my addressing you, I would inform you that my brethren, the Cayugas, and my children, the Senecas, requested me to be their mouth on this solemn occasion, and understanding that it is agreeable to the great chief of New-York, I now stand here. You will possess your minds in peace, for I have no disposition to oppose you in any respect, but shall move forward in the strait path.

Brother Chief,

In the first place, I would inform you, that last spring we were invited to a treaty at Muskingum —where your voice also called upon us to attend— some of our nation went there, and have not yet returned.

When our uncles, the chiefs, left our council fire, their only business at Muskingum, was the estab-

lishment of a good peace. This mission was agreeable to us all—even the warriors; for although the clouds blacken in the south, and the winds sometimes blow, yet as long as our sachems labour for a peace, the minds of our young men are composed.

This, great chief, I only observe to open the way for what is to follow. Shortly after, the cloud from the south began to rise; we again saw the effulgence of the sun; but as soon as we saw it, an evil spirit commenced its work, threatening the annihilation of our territory.

BROTHER GOVERNOR,

Although I observed to you, that an evil spirit had invaded our peace, yet do not suppose that the Five Nations were disposed to cherish this enemy; we were deceived: we believed it to be a good spirit, sent by the great council of the state, and we thought that we should not injure ourselves by opening our ears to their voice. This was indeed new to us, for never before had the Five Nations such a meeting with any of our brethren of this island. We had invariably conferred together according to ancient and settled usage.

It would be tedious to go into detail, and state at large the means by which we were misled. We cannot see but a small depth into the heart of man, and can only discover the work of his tongue. It appears that you then sensibly sympathized with us in our situation, and looking back to ancient times, endeavoured to discover a method of recovering our sinking territory.

Soon after this the Oneida nation heard your voice. Although it was small at first, yet it gave us life, to find that you would extend your arm, and save our country. It informed us, that you would kindle a council fire at Fort Stanwix, inform us of our situation, and relieve us from our difficulties.

It also directed us to send it on to the other nations, which we did. At the council fire at Fort Stanwix, but one nation, the Onondagas, attended; there was a strange bird that flew about your voice, and related strange stories. This bird kept flying about while you held this council fire. After your patience had been exhausted in waiting several days, you then determined to take us, one by one, as we came to the council fire; and with this we were content.

When you had finished with the Onondagas, you then showed the agreement to us, the Oneidas, pointed out the true path, and opened our eyes. We then comprehended your sentiments as they were laid before us. You raised us from sinking into an unfathomable gulph, and placed us on a high mountain; you erected a fortification around us, so that no evil spirits, or strange birds, could fly over and disturb us; you completed an agreement to our mutual satisfaction: it is firm and unalterable; no evil spirit shall be able to erase the lines. We are now fixed, and dwell in peace.

I need not enlarge upon the council, at Fort Stanwix, and the proceedings at that place. You remember you saw a few Senecas there. You welcomed them, although they were neither invited, nor sachems, but little children; they then told you with what difficulty they leaped over the mound at Canasake.

You also remember, that when those Seneca young men left you, you gave them good advice. As your patience was not yet exhausted, and your love for the Five Nations continued in full force, you invited the Senecas, through them, to meet you at Albany this winter, to consult upon subjects connected with their welfare. You also requested their attendance from the remotest parts of the nation. They again heard your voice: you opened their

eyes; and it pierced them to the heart to see their territory sinking, and that by and by the warriors would not be at liberty to hunt upon their land, and to provide for their women and children.

Soon after this, the headmen and warriors deliberated on our message, and determined that it would be for the good of the Five Nations, and prevent our utter destruction, to repair to this place. Although some of our sachems have not returned from the southward, yet we are persuaded that our deliberations and proceedings will meet their approbation.

After frequent conferences with our brethren, the Senecas, we determined to repair to this ancient council fire; we thought it agreeable to ancient usage to take with us two brothers of the Onondagas and Oneidas, as witnesses, to this place, where our ancestors kindled their council fires; the smoke of which reached the heavens, and round which they sat and talked of peace. I observed at first, that I should only touch upon one event after another. But need I call your attention to the councils and treaties held here by your and our forefathers. They then had but one head and one heart; the chain of friendship was made of silver, so that it could not rust. Our ancestors, you know, frequently met to brighten this chain, with a design to see whether any evil spirit that disturbs the peace of brethren, shook it or sat upon it.

But I must leave this pleasant subject, the paths of our ancestors. You have seen some of our brethren of the Five Nations, the Cayugas; you have opened your mind, and encouraged us to believe that you can save our sinking country; and that if any of your people have overleaped the bounds prescribed, you can erase the lines. This has given us great encouragement and universal pleasure.

Brother Governor,

The Cayugas and Senecas, here present, thank you from the bottom of our hearts, that you have communicated freely with us. When we heard your first and second voice we were glad; but now we are quite rejoiced. It convinces us that you remembered and cherished the treaties between you and our forefathers. The great spirit gave our ancestors and us this island; and we know that you are anxious to promote his design, that we should have a place whereon to live. We love our country, and our fathers loved their country.

We said we were glad to meet you and hear your voice, and to feel assured that you are able to save our sinking territory; we now put it all under your power; put your hands over the whole, reserving to us such a dish as you shall prescribe for us. This is perfectly agreeable to the usages of our ancestors, who loved peace, and loved their land; and why? because they loved their women and their children; and while they loved peace and their land, they enjoyed happy days.

We repeat that we rejoice in this meeting, and in these proceedings. Those we have left behind, and those that will return from the south, will also rejoice at the result of our conferences. Our little ones can now look with pleasure for fish in the streams, and our warriors can hunt for wild beasts in the woods, and feel confident that they will not be driven from their country. (A string of black wampum with six rows.)

Brother,

I have repeatedly said, that I was glad to hear your mind; your words have sunk deep into my heart, and have raised up my land and country, that were about to sink. I entreat you, by this string, to keep firm to your word, and to reach out your

hand over my country. Our dish we will reserve. This transaction will rejoice, not only our absent friends, but our children's children, to the latest generation. They will declare with joy, that Aquilanda,* the governor of New York, has rescued their country from destruction. (A string of white wampum with six rows.)

You have heard our voice; we now entreat you to open your ears, and hear a speech from our sisters, the governesses.

BROTHER,

Our ancestors considered it a great offence to reject the counsels of their women, particularly of the female governesses. They were esteemed the mistresses of the soil. *Who*, said our forefathers, bring us into being—*Who* cultivate our lands, kindle our fires, and boil our pots, but the women?

Our women say, that they are apprehensive their uncles have lost the power of hunting, as they were about destroying their country; but they take this opportunity of thanking you for preventing their fall down the precipice, to which their uncles had brought them.

They entreat that the veneration of their ancestors, in favour of women, be not disregarded, and that they may not be despised: the great spirit is their maker.

The female governesses beg leave to speak, with that freedom allowed to women, and agreeable to the spirit of our ancestors. They entreat the great chief to put forth his strength, and preserve them in peace; for they are the life of the nation; your power cannot be disputed. Those that disturb them are your subjects, and you can punish them.

* An Indian name given to Governor Clinton, which signifies *rising sun*.

They rejoice, that while their counsellors are settling a peace at Muskingum, and you are here labouring for their good, tranquillity will be spread over the whole country. (Six strings of wampum.)

Then Good Peter added,

BROTHER,

Possess your mind in peace. You are sensible that in affairs of importance, omissions may be made, and that a person is allowed afterward to correct them.

You have greatly encouraged us, by promising to watch over our peace, and to provide for our welfare. It is probable, that when we have completed our business here, some bad men may break over the fence you have set around us. There are, excuse us brother, some bad men among the white people of this island; they may not hear your voice as far as our country: we therefore propose that Peter Ryckman, our child, may live among us in your behalf, look at our affairs, and watch over our interests.

You have now heard our minds, and the resolutions we had formed before we left our country. I only act here as an agent, by the request of my brothers, the Cayugas, and I am now released from my engagements.

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT THEIR ANNIVERSARY MEETING,

6th *DECEMBER*, 1812.

BY THE HONOURABLE GOUVERNEUR MORRIS,

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

December 6th, 1812.

RESOLVED, *That the thanks of this Society be presented to the Honourable* GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, *for the Discourse delivered by him, this day, before the Society; and that the Honourable* DE WITT CLINTON, *the Reverend Doctor* MILLER, *and Doctor* DAVID HOSACK, *be appointed a Committee to convey the same, and to request a copy for publication.*

Extract from the minutes,

JOHN PINTARD,
Recording Secretary.

A

DISCOURSE, &c.

Mr. President, and
Gentlemen of the Historical Society,

It was my purpose, in obeying your orders, to make a sketch of our history from the year 1763 to the year 1783, and compare our condition at the close of two victorious wars, in both of which this state was distinguished among her brethren as the principal theatre and greatest sufferer. This important period, of twenty years, marked by one of those events on which history delights to dwell, will, I trust, be related with philosophic impartiality by some future Hume, to amuse and instruct posterity, when their ancestors shall have mouldered to dust. But reflection told me the time was not yet arrived. Moreover, the bounds of a discourse like this are too narrow to embrace the more prominent incidents and characters. Another circumstance contributed to deter me: however rapid and concise the narrative, egotism could not wholly have been avoided. This circumstance not only forbade the attempt first contemplated, but raised difficulties, which I feared to encounter, in selecting some anterior term. Connected, by the ties of consanguinity, with persons deeply engaged in those feuds by which, at an early day, the colony was agitated, I trembled lest duty and affection

should wrong the memory of their foes: lest some incautious word of praise or blame should obscure the lustre of truth. I must therefore entreat your pardon, that shunning what may be deemed the more proper course, I venture to present some reflections on prominent historical facts and geographical circumstances which distinguish our state.

On a cursory glance at the map of North America, our eye is caught by that deep indent, where Long Island (whose eastern point lies between thirty and forty leagues west of the south end of Nantucket shoal) after stretching thirty leagues, on a course but fifteen degrees to the southward of west, is separated by a deep bay from the main land, whose general direction, from Sandy Hook to Cape Hatteras, is but seventeen degrees to the westward of south. The upper end of that bay, divided from the lower by Staten Island, is nearest to the valley which embosoms the great lakes, the St. Lawrence, and the Mississippi, of any seaport on the Atlantic; and the hills which intervene are neither so numerous, so lofty, nor so steep, as those by which other routes are obstructed. The city of New-York, at the head of this bay, from causes which will probably endure as long as the earth itself, is generally accessible; and the navigation to it is frequently open when that of more southern situations is barred by frost. The channel on the west end of Long Island, though broad and deep, may be so obstructed as to frustrate hostile attempts. The other channel, whose mouth is two degrees to the eastward, and therefore of easier and safer access in dark bad weather, presents a secure and pleasant passage till within eight miles of this city. There a rapid whirlpool and projecting rocks (our Scylla and Charbydis) render it so narrow and difficult, that, although perfectly safe at a proper time, and with a good pilot, it may easily

be rendered too hazardous for an enemy. By the first of these channels, vessels outward bound, within a few hours after casting off from their moorings, gain the open sea. By the second, those which arrive can, with common prudence, reach safe anchorage without a pilot; and the distance from the mouth of the one to that of the other is such that both cannot easily be blockaded by the same squadron. These circumstances alone point out New York as a commercial emporium.

But there are others which contribute largely to the same effect. Beside many small streams, the great Connecticut River pours its waters into the eastern channel; and the western shore of Manhattan Island is washed by the Hudson, navigable fifty leagues by large vessels; and what is peculiar to this noble canal, ships take with them a favouring tide beyond all the ranges of mountain east of that great valley already mentioned, which stretches upward of fourteen hundred miles in a southwestern direction from the island of Orleans, in the St. Lawrence, to the city of Orleans, on the Mississippi. To this valley an inland navigation from the Hudson can easily be extended northward to the St. Lawrence, and westward to the great lakes, whose depth, whose extent, whose pellucid water, and whose fertile shores, are unparalleled. It is probable, that if our western hemisphere had been known to antiquity, those immortal bards who crowned their thundering Jove on the peak of Olympus, would have reared to commerce a golden throne on the granite rock of Manhattan. They might have pictured her as receiving, in a vast range of magazines from Haerlem village round to Haerlem cove (a distance of twenty miles) the willing tribute of mankind; as fostering industry in the remotest regions; scattering on barren shores that plenty which nature had denied; dis-

pensing to millions the multiplied means of enjoyment, and pouring the flood-tide of wealth on this her favoured land. Not, indeed, that wealth, which, the plunder of war and the wages of vice, exalts a rapacious head over a servile crowd; but that honest wealth, which, accompanied by freedom and justice, comforts the needy, raises the abject, instructs the ignorant, and fosters the arts. Such are the outlines of a picture which, adorned by classic colouring, might, with the Iliad, have been recommended to his royal pupil by that sage whose mind, acute and profound, was equally skilled in moral, physical, and political science.

The first settlement of this state coincided with its natural advantages. While Englishmen came to America, either flying from ecclesiastical intolerance, or pursuing the treasure its savages were supposed to possess; Dutchmen, inspired with the spirit of trade, instead of sitting down on the skirts of the new world, boldly penetrated to the head navigation of the Hudson. They built there a fort, in the year 1614, and gave it the name of that august family, whose talents and labours, in the cabinet and the field, secured the liberty of England, as well as of Holland, and established the independence of Europe.

The Dutch exhibited a new and interesting spectacle. Near half a century had elapsed since, confederated with the other ten provinces of the low countries, they took up arms to oppose the establishment of the inquisition. After a struggle of thirteen years, abandoned by their associates, they had to contend for civil as well as for religious liberty, not only against their bigoted and bloody foe, but against their former friends also; then submitted to his power. They had, for many preceding ages, been free. The supreme authority belonged to the states, who met on their own adjournment, and

without whose consent neither laws could be passed, nor taxes raised, nor war declared.* These privileges, which every sovereign had sworn to defend, were respected by Charles V. but formed no obstacle to the ambition of his unfeeling son. Thus the revolutions (if without the violation of language that term can be so applied) of Holland, of England, and of America, bear a striking resemblance to each other. Each was a contest to maintain the liberty already enjoyed, and defend it against usurpation. In England, a powerful nation, surrounded by the sea, dismissed their prince, and placed on his throne the husband of his daughter. This work was easy and effectual. In America, the inhabitants of a great continent, separated from the invader by the Atlantic ocean, favoured at first by the wishes and at last by the arms of other nations, were successful after a short, though severe struggle. But in the case of Holland, seven poor provinces, whose surface (about eight and a half million of acres) does not exceed one of our senatorial districts,† whose population, a century after establishing their independence, and when they had reached to the highest point of prosperity, was but two million; about double our present number. These poor provinces sustained a conflict of thirty years with the most powerful nation in Europe. They opposed the ablest generals, at the head of the best troops of that most warlike age. An awful scene! interrupted, not closed, in April, 1609, by a truce of twelve years. When that expired, another contest ensued of seven-and-twenty years. At length, on the 24th October, 1648, almost a century (eighty two years)

* Grotius de Anti. Repub. Bat. cap. 5.

† Busching's Geography, Introd. to the Netherlands, sec. 3. and 5. The Germans divide the degrees into 15 geographical miles, which gives, in round numbers, about 13,600 acres to the square geographical mile: of which he gives to the Netherlands 625.

from the time they first took up arms, their independence was acknowledged by the treaty of Westphalia.

It is natural here to ask, by what miracle did these feeble provinces resist that mighty empire? The sufficient, and only sufficient answer, is, by the will of Him who holds in his hand the destinies of mankind. He bade their gloomy climate produce a persevering people, whose industry no toil could abate, whose fortitude no danger could dismay. He gave them leaders sagacious, intrepid, active, unwearied, incorruptible. He, as of old, from the eater brought forth meat, and from the strong, sweetness. He gave them food from a tempestuous ocean, and treasure from the jaws of devouring despotism. But if, with reverence, we seek those causes to which reason may trace events, we shall find the miracle we admire to have been the work of commerce. From the sea they gathered means to defend the land against hostile armies on one side, and against the sea itself on the other: for the singularity of their situation exposed them, alike to be inundated and to be subdued. The sea, which threatened, and still threatens to overwhelm them, gave access to the riches of both the Indias. They pursued, along that perilous road, the persecutors of mankind, and wrested from their grasp the unrighteous plunder of Mexico and Peru. Thus, surrounded by danger, impelled by want, inured to toil, animated by exertion, strengthened by faith, stimulated by hope, and exalted by religion, a few miserable fishermen, scattered on a sterile coast, were converted into a race of heroes. They acquired power in the struggle for existence, and wealth under the weight of taxation.

Such, gentlemen, were our Dutch ancestors, who immediately after concluding the twelve years' truce, came hither and brought with them their skill,

their integrity, their liberty, and their courage. From a sense of justice, that animating soul of commerce, without which it is a dead, and must soon become a corrupt and stinking carcass, they entered into a treaty with the natives; in whom they found patience, fortitude, and a love of liberty like their own. While the seven United Provinces, by their steady perseverance, astonished the nations of the east, our six confederate tribes, by their military prowess, subdued those of the west. The first treaty formed between the Dutch and the Maquaas, or Mohawks, has been frequently renewed; and few treaties have been better observed. The excellent discourse* delivered to you last year, leaves me nothing to say of those tribes. Permit me, however, to express the astonishment, in which you will doubtless participate, that men, reputed to be wise and learned, should suppose the people of this state, born, brought up, and situated as they are, can be restrained from commercial pursuits.

Half a century after fort Orange was built, Charles II. of England, within three years from his restoration, granted this state to his brother, the Duke of York; and in that year (1664) it was conquered by the British arms. England, which Elizabeth (after reigning near five-and-forty years) had left in the possession of peace, wealth, and glory, passed two-and-twenty more under a conceited pedant, powerful in words, and poor in act. He had neither the courage to establish, nor the magnanimity to abandon prerogatives, which, inconsistent with the spirit of his age and country, became every day more and more intolerable. Thus the scholastic imbecility of a projector prepared the tragic scene in which his son was doomed

* By the Hon. De Witt Clinton. Ed.

to act and to perish. A hideous scene, where the spectators beheld, with horror and dismay, justice violated, honour polluted, religion degraded, and freedom destroyed. But great crimes were palliated, as they were perpetrated, by great talents. The infamy of murder and usurpation was ennobled by the sword of victory. And the multitude, dazzled by the splendour of success, that adoration which is due to virtue alone, was blindly and basely offered at the shrine of power. In seventeen years after Charles ascended his father's throne, he was engaged in civil war. At the close of another seventeen years he was led to the scaffold. During nine years the British sceptre was in the iron grasp of Cromwell. He made the nations tremble. But in less than three years from his decease, the son of Charles was restored. Fortunately for our freedom, this witty sensualist, who, if we are to believe one of his profligate companions, "never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one," although he had the sense to perceive, had not the steadiness to pursue, nor the address to secure, the advantages of his situation. He might have put himself in possession of absolute power over a nation inured to war, and naturally brave. He might have held in his hand the fate of Europe. He might have been the rival of Louis the Fourteenth; perhaps his superior. Instead of this, he basely became his pensioner, and in that mean condition waged war with the United Netherlands. But a majority of his parliament, too wise to be deceived, too brave to be intimidated, too honest to be seduced, obliged him to make peace, by withholding the means to make war. The first of these wars was terminated in three years by the treaty of Breda, which gave New-York to the British crown, the 26th of January, 1667.

After a licentious reign of near two-and-twenty years, the throne of inglorious Charles was mounted by his bigoted brother James; who, crowned in 1684, fled to France in 1688. Half a century had elapsed, from the time when Charles the First made his lavish levy of ship money, to the accession of his son James. In the former half of this period the English character was degraded by hypocrisy and crime, in the latter by impiety and vice. During the first five-and-twenty years, we had no connexion with them. On the contrary, for two years, from 1652 to 1654, there was war between Oliver Cromwell and the States General. During the last five-and-twenty, we were secured against the contagion of their immorality, by distance, by poverty, and by the simple manners and habits which characterized our Dutch ancestors. Six years after New-York was ceded to Charles the Second, it was retaken by the Dutch, but restored to England the 9th February of the next year (1674) by the treaty of Westminster. In little more than fifteen years from that period, an insurrection under Lesler took this city for King William; whose war with France (terminated by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697) lasted eight years. After a short breathing of four years, however, it was renewed, in the beginning of the last century, and lasted thirteen years more; till, at length, the treaty of Utrecht, on the 11th of April, 1714, followed by the death of Queen Anne in August of the same year, and of Louis XIV. on the first of September in the next year, gave to our country a more durable repose. For though it might have been imagined that our distance and our insignificance would have secured us, a lowly bush, from tempests which tore the tops of lofty trees; yet, bordering as we do on Canada, so long as France continued in possession of that province, every war

in which she was engaged with England, laid waste our frontiers, and, calling forth every effort for their defence, exhausted our resources. From this rapid sketch, gentlemen, it appears that, children of commerce, we were rocked in the cradle of war, and sucked the principles of liberty with our mother's milk. Accordingly, we find that long before that controversy which rent the British empire asunder, in disputes with royal governors attempting to stretch authority beyond its just bounds, there was a steady appeal, by our fathers, to the principles on which the Belgic and British patriots relied in their opposition to tyranny.

The revocation of the edict of Nantz, in the year 1685, drove many French protestants to seek an asylum on our shores, and governor Hunter, in the year 1710, brought with him a number of palatines. Thus our ancestry may be traced to four nations, the Dutch, the British, the French, and the German. It would have been strange had a people so formed, been tainted with national prejudice. Far from it. We are, if I may be allowed to say so, born cosmopolite; and possess, without effort, what others can with difficulty acquire by much travel and great expense. But as no earthly good is pure, so this equal respect and regard for strangers diminishes the preference to natives, on occasions where natives ought to be preferred; and impairs the activity, if not the strength, while it removes the blindness of patriotic sentiment. In like manner, it may be numbered among the advantages of commerce, that a liberality which extends to foreign correspondents the gentle appellation of friend, encourages the growth of general benevolence. It is at the same time to be lamented, that with this amiable sentiment is connected, a fondness for the fashions and productions of foreign countries which is injurious to the simplicity of ancient manners.

But, from the combined operation of these causes, the emigrant from every nation finds himself here at home. Natives of the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Appennines, the highlands of Scotland, and the mountains of Wales, as well as those who inhabit the banks of the Shannon, the Thames, the Seine, the Rhine, and the Danube, meeting here, see in each other the faces of fellow countrymen. It results, from our mixed population, that he who wishes to become acquainted with the various languages and manners of mankind, need not ramble into distant regions. He, also, who would trace up society to its origin, can here behold it in the rudest condition. He can safely shut the volumes of philosophic dreaming, and look into the book of nature which lies open before him. Ethical reasoning may here be raised on the foundation of fact. If it be admitted, as a principle in the natural history of animals, that the state in which a particular species of them is most powerful and abundant, is the best suited to its nature, and therefore its natural state, it may be concluded that the natural state of man is that in which they are most numerous, and in which they have the most activity, strength and beauty. If this conclusion be just, we need but open our eyes on our savage brethren to be convinced, by a comparison of them with civilized man, that in so far as regards our own species, the state of nature and of society are one and the same. The half-naked Indian, who now sits shivering on the banks of Niagara, while he views that stupendous cataract, may view also the ships, the houses, the clothing and arms of his civilized fellow creatures, and hear the thunders of their cannon roar louder than the torrent. If he compares his feeble means and wretched condition with their power and wealth, he cannot but be sensible of his great inferiority. And much more will civilized man, who,

daring death at the call of duty, not only spares an unresisting foe, but soothes his distrees, relieves his wants, and heals his wounds—much more will he feel superiority over the savage hunter of men, whose rule of war is general slaughter; whose trophies are torn bleeding from the skulls of women and children, and who gluts his ferocity by the torture of helpless prisoners. The civilized man will perceive, also, if history has occupied his attention, by comparing the laws of ancient and modern war, the influence, and, in that influence, the truth of our holy religion. If it be true that one great end of history is to communicate a knowledge of mankind, and, by making man acquainted with his species, facilitate the acquisition of that most important science, the knowledge of himself; we may be permitted to believe that a faithful narrative of deeds done by our fathers will eminently merit a studious regard. The comparison which will, obtrusively, present itself between the aboriginal tribes, the various colonists, the emigrants from Europe, and the troops of different nations, will display a more perfect picture of our species than can easily be delineated on any other historical canvass. Neither will the strong lineaments of character be wanting. Those arduous circumstances which marked our origin, and impeded our growth; those ravages to which we were exposed, not only until the treaty of Utrecht, but in the war from 1744 to 1748, terminated by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; in that which began in 1755 and ended in 1760 by the conquest of Canada, and in our war with Great Britain, from April, 1775, to November, 1783; above all, the persevering efforts to defend our country, in that long period of near one hundred and seventy years from the first settlement by the Dutch in 1614, to the time when this city was evacuated by the British in the close of 1783, during which there was

little repose (except in a space of thirty years which elapsed between the peace of Utrecht and the war of 1744) brought forth men worthy of respectful imitation, and formed the mass of our citizens to the hardihood of military life; notwithstanding a soil and climate which, teeming with abundance, tempt to the enjoyment of ease and luxury.

May we not be permitted, also, to believe that they are by nature brave? Pardon, gentlemen, a digression which, though it should conclude nothing, may furnish amusement—perhaps reflection. He who visits the nations which Tacitus and Cæsar have described, will be struck with a resemblance between those who now inhabit particular districts, and those who dwelt there so many centuries ago. Notwithstanding the wars and conquests which have laid waste, depopulated, and repeopled Europe; notwithstanding the changes of government, and those which have been wrought by the decline and by the advance of society and the arts; notwithstanding the differences of religion, and the difference of manners resulting from all other circumstances; still the same distinctive traits of character appear. Similar bodies are animated by similar souls. We find, also, extending our view a little further east, and taking in a larger surface of the globe, that peculiarities in civil establishment and political organization, corresponding with the peculiarities of national character, have, from the earliest ages, distinguished those regions. We find that the attempt of tyrants to establish despotism, in some countries, was frequently baffled; while the endeavour of patriots to secure freedom, in others, was equally fruitless. He who considers the changes wrought by the tide of time on the face of our globe, this solid earth itself alternately raised above the ocean or plunged beneath its waves, and perceives those peculiarities of form and mind, which

remain unchanged through such a long succession of generations, must be struck with the idea of the simple Indian, who, pressed to sell the possession of his tribe, replied, "We grew out of this ground. In its bosom our fathers repose. What! Shall we call upon their bones? Shall we bid them arise and go with us to a strange land?"

We, gentlemen, grew out of this same ground with our Indian predecessors. Have we not some traits to mark our common origin? This question will be answered with more precision, when, after the lapse of centuries, the blood of our progenitors, operating with less force, the changes produced, not only in man, but in other animals, by that unknown cause which exhibits a peculiar race in each particular country, shall be more fully displayed. Let us, however, collect the facts which now present themselves. Among the curiosities of newly-discovered America was the Indian canoe. Its slender and elegant form, its rapid movement, its capacity to bear burdens and resist the rage of billows and torrents, excited no small degree of admiration for the skill by which it was constructed. After the lapse of two centuries, the ships of America were equally admired in the ports of great naval powers, for their lightness, their beauty, the velocity with which they sail, the facility with which they are managed. Nautical architecture may be considered as one of the most important branches of mechanic knowledge. The higher order of mathematic science has been called into act for its advancement. And certainly a line of battle ship is one of the most powerful engines that was ever framed. In comparison with it, the ancient inventions, for defence or destruction, dwindle almost to insignificance. And yet our untutored ship builders have, by the mere force of genius, excelled their European brethren in this difficult, complex art.

So great is the difference, that children distinguish, at first sight, the American ship ascending the Elbe to Hamburgh, a city of considerable trade long before Columbus was born. Again: We find among our savage tribes the commemoration of events by painting; rude, indeed, but more distinct than in other barbarous nations. May I not remark that an American is at the head of that art in England, and that many others, who excel in it, drew their first breath on our shores. Again: Let me recall, gentlemen, to your recollection, that bloody field in which Herkemer fell. There was found the Indian and the white man, born on the banks of the Mohawk, their left hand clenched in each other's hair, the right grasping, in a gripe of death, the knife plunged in each other's bosom. Thus they lay frowning. Africa presents a number of nations, like those of America, uncivilized. But how different! I will not say inferior, for they also have excellence peculiar to themselves. They are not, indeed, either painters or builders; but no where, not even in Italy, is the taste for music more universal.

If we believe, with Frederick the Great, that reason and experience are the crutches on which men halt along in the pursuit of truth, it may not be amiss to ask the aid of what is known about the Indian character and history, in order to draw the horoscope of our country. What is the statesman's business? If futurity were known, the simplest which can be imagined. For, as in reading Virgil we find the verse so smooth that every scholar thinks he could easily make as good; so, in glancing his eye along the page of history, an indolent reader figures to himself that he too could be a prince of Orange, a Walsingham, a Richelieu. And so, indeed, he might, by the aid of self command, common prudence, and common sense, could he see

into futurity, and penetrate the thoughts of those with whom he is to act. But there lies the difficulty.

Let us see, then, whether some other characteristic of the aborigines may not open to us a view of ourselves, and the perspective of our country. It has already been noticed that the Dutch, on their arrival, found the Indian tribes free. They were subject neither to princes nor to nobles. The Mohawks had not, like the Romans, naturalized those whom they subdued. It was a federal nation, a federal government, a people as free as the air they breathed; acute, dexterous, eloquent, subtle, brave. They had more of the Grecian than of the Roman character. The most strongly marked, perhaps, of their moral features, was a high sense of personal independence. Is it not likely that this may be the character of our children's children? May we not hope that the liberty to which we were bred, will be enjoyed and preserved by them? It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that an extent so vast as that of the United States is less favourable to freedom than a more confined domain, and gives reason to apprehend the establishment of monarchy. Moreover, the anxious patriot may well tremble at the prevalence of faction, at the attempts to prostrate law, and at those absurd principles of mob power, as wildly preached by some as they are wickedly practised by others. Still there is ground of hope. Still it is permitted to believe, that those who pursue despotic power, along the beaten path of democracy, and expect to establish their dominion over the people, by flattering the populace, will be sorely disappointed. The soul of this nation cannot be subdued. Neither will those who tread the soil in which the Mohawks are entombed submit to be slaves.

I shall not be surprised that ideas of this sort are treated as visionary speculations. When the great Chatham, in January, 1775, having moved an address for recalling the British troops from Boston, said, in a speech which will ever do honour both to his eloquence and discernment, "America, insulted with an armed force, irritated with a hostile army before her eyes, her concessions, if you *could* force them, would be suspicious and insecure. But it is more than evident that you cannot force them to your unworthy terms of submission. It is impossible. We ourselves shall be forced ultimately to retract. Let us retract while we can; not when we must. I repeat it, my lords, we shall one day be forced to undo these violent, oppressive acts. They must be repealed. You will repeal them. I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them. I stake my reputation on it. I will consent to be taken for an idiot if they are not repealed." When the venerable statesman thus poured forth prophetic eloquence, the wise ones of that day, exulting in "*a little brief authority*," shrugged up their shoulders, and said, with a sneer of affected commiseration, poor old peer! he has outlived his understanding. In fancy, to be sure, he is young and wild, but reason is gone; he dotes. So, too, in the height of Gallic frenzy, there was a cry raised to hunt down those who, reasoning and reflecting, foresaw and foretold a military despotism as the natural, the necessary result of such unexampled atrocities. It became a fashion to speak of those who warned their country against the contaminating touch, the infectious breath of licentious pollution, as enemies of liberty, as mad with aristocratic notions, as whimsical and fantastic. But now the predictions of Chatham and of Burke are verified. And it may now be asked, where are the men who called those eloquent sages fools?

They are precisely where Chatham, who knew mankind, would have predicted. They are in authority, and enjoy the blind confidence of disciples, who, when their masters shall have blundered on ninety and nine times more, will most faithfully adhere to them in their hundredth blunder.

Returning from this digression, I take leave to observe that our state will support a population of four millions. Already it exceeds nine hundred thousand white inhabitants, although twenty years ago it was but little more than three hundred thousand. When, therefore, the salubrity of our climate, the fertility of our soil, the convenient situations for manufacturing establishments, and our advantageous position for trade, are considered, there is reason to believe the period not distant when we shall count four million inhabitants: and, certainly, our wealth, if we are blest by a good government, must keep pace with our population. New York, connected with her eastern brethren and New Jersey, had, in 1810, more than two million and a half of white inhabitants; wherefore we may reasonably conclude, that in half a century they will contain eight millions; for in 1790 their number was short of one million and a half, and in 1800 was near two; having increased about one third in each term of ten years, but more than three fourths in the whole term of twenty years, viz. from 1,476,631 to 2,597,634. Though not distinguished as a manufacturing people, yet, judging by those fruits which the inventive genius of our fellow citizens has produced, we may reasonably foster, even in that respect, exulting expectations. Numerous on land, we are not strangers at sea. Our country abounds in iron, and the use of it is not unknown to her children.

If, then, monarchy and aristocracy establish themselves in other portions of America; if the

variously-coloured population of states in which domestic slavery prevails, should be condemned to civil and political slavery; if they should be subjected to haughty caciques, let us hope that here we may be led by the council of our sachems. Let it not, however, be supposed, that a breach of the federal compact is intended: for, setting aside all attachment to national union, so essential to public tranquillity, if a separation of the states were contemplated, the Delaware would not be chosen as their boundary. But when the great extent of our country; when the violence of rash men; when the dangerous inequality of civil condition; when the contempt which some express for others, alarm those whose lives have been devoted to liberty, it is natural to look about and inquire, if there be no asylum to which freedom may fly when driven from her present abode. In such moments of anxious solicitude, it is no small consolation to believe, that here, whatever may be her fate elsewhere—here, gentlemen, her temple will stand on a foundation immovable. Here we have, at this moment, more free citizens than the whole union could boast of in 1775. And here, I fondly hope—here, I firmly believe, the spirit of 1775 still glows in the bosoms of the brave.

It is among the circumstances which ought not to be overlooked, in this general view of our history, that the practice of law has been strictly modelled on that which prevails in what we formerly called our mother country; that land of good nature and good sense from which we learned the most useful lessons of our lives: our liberty, our laws, and our religion. Wits may scoff at the pedantry of special pleading, the barbarous phraseology of lawyers, and stern severity of judges, who, trampling on the flowers of eloquence, check babbling, and confine the bar within the bounds of

strict logic; but those who think, will perceive, that inasmuch as things are expressed by words, precise expression can only be effected by words of established signification; and since the rule of conduct cannot be applied until the fact be established, it is a pre-requisite that such precise assertion be made by the one party, and such precise negation by the other, as distinctly to state the facts to be ascertained. The judges of fact can then accurately determine on its existence; and, that done, the judges of law can apply the rule. Every case, so adjudged, will serve as a rule for cases which may afterward arise; and thus the general principles of natural justice, the maxims of ancient usage, and the positive injunctions or inhibitions of legislative providence, are extended to the infinite variety of human actions and relations; so that liberty and property are secured. Nor is it, as many have hastily supposed, an evil, that law is expensive to suitors: for, as far as the suitor himself is concerned, by deterring him from litigation, it strengthens, if his cause be good, the sentiment of benevolence, and enforces, if bad, the duty of justice. By lessening the number of suits, it diminishes the causes of discord. Trifling injuries, which, if unnoticed, would soon be forgotten, may, by a vindictive spirit, be made the subject of controversy, and separate families for more than one generation. Moreover, this great expense of law is a great public economy: for when cheap lawyers, multiplying trivial causes, crowd tribunals with a host of jurors, parties, witnesses, and their needful attendants, many fields lie uncultivated, many workshops are neglected, and habits of idleness and dissipation are acquired, to the manifest injury and impoverishment of the republic.

It is a suggestion of fancy: or am I warranted in supposing that rigid practice of law may give some-

what of precision to general modes of thinking; that it may even render conversation less diffusive, and therefore more instructive; that the accuracy of forensic argument may communicate vigour to parliamentary debate; that the deep sense and grave deportment of the bench and bar may have imparted to our character more of solidity than it would otherwise have possessed? This city was long the head quarters of a British army; and familiar intercourse with officers, many of whom were men of family and fashion, while it gave, perhaps, a little of that lustre and polish which distinguish the higher ranks of society, could not but dispose young people to levity and mirth, more than is suited to the condition of those who must earn their living by their industry. Man is an imitative animal. Not only his deportment, his language, and his manners, but even his morals depend, in a great degree, on his companions. Let us suppose two individuals, of twin resemblance as to intellectual disposition and power, one of them frequently attending on courts of strict practice, the other on those where lengthened declamation wears out tedious days on questions of trifling import: would not the latter slide into a loose mode both of thinking and speaking; might he not conceive that to talk long is to talk well; might he not attend too much to the melody of periods, too little to the precision of thought; might he not, at length, be exposed, from indulging the habit of loose thinking, to the danger of loose acting? It requires accuracy of investigation and clearness of perception to distinguish right from wrong, when, in doubtful circumstances, self interest is concerned. A man, therefore, may easily be induced to do wrong, in compliance with what he feels to be his interest, when he thinks it *may* be right; especially, when he thinks that those who are to judge *may* be prevailed on to

decide in his favour. Is there not, on the other hand, reason to suppose, that he whose course of life has led him to scenes of sharp inquiry; who has listened to arguments of precise logic; who has participated in decisions of legal strictness; is there not reason to believe, that this man will use a diction more concise, possess a judgment more acute, and observe a more correct line of conduct?

These probable, or, at least, possible effects of forensic accuracy, may be increased, or diminished, or destroyed, by the ever-varying circumstances of our civil and social condition. Nay, their very existence may be questioned, or attributed to other causes. Talents and habits of observation must be exercised to make the due investigation. But there is one important consequence which cannot easily be overlooked or assigned to any other cause: I allude to the value of property in this state; and merely mention it, because detailed observations would be tedious—perhaps invidious. Permit me, however, to notice the more prominent reasons why it must produce that effect, in the political associations of mankind. It is evident, at the first blush, that a purchaser of land will give more for a good than for a doubtful title; and it is equally evident that titles must be less secure where scope is given to declamation, than where strict practice and close logic are required. If we look a little nearer, we shall perceive a more extensive consequence. The creditor who is certain of getting speedily what is due to him, provided the debtor possess sufficient property, will be more liberal of credit than where the recovery of debts is tedious and uncertain. But credit is equivalent to money, and, like money, not only enhances the price of property, but, obviating the want of money, becomes, to the nation in which it prevails, a substitute for that intrinsic value, part

of their capital stock, which would, otherwise, be sent abroad to procure the precious metals.

Indulge me, gentlemen, while on this subject, in another observation. The more strict and regular is the practice of law, the greater is our certainty that the guilty will be punished; and, of necessary consequence, that the innocent will be protected. The law, when it is a terror to evil doers, is the safeguard not only of property but of life, and of that which wise and virtuous citizens value more than life—it is the protector of liberty. Where the law is supreme, every one may do what it permits without fear; and from this happy condition arises that habit of order which secures the public peace. But when any man, or association of men, can exercise discretionary power over others, there is an end of that liberty which our fathers enjoyed, and for which their sons bled. Whenever such an association, assuming to be the people, undertake to govern according to their will and pleasure, the republic which submits; nay, the republic which does not immediately subdue and destroy them, is in the steep downhill road to despotism. I cannot here, gentlemen, help congratulating you on the high standing of our city during late events, and adding my feeble approbation to the full applause so justly bestowed on its magistrates. To say more might look like adulation. To say less would be a want of gratitude.

Among the singularities of our history, is the slow progress of population, previous to the year 1783, compared with that of other states. Jamestown, in Virginia, was founded in 1607, Quebec in 1608, New York in 1615, New Plymouth in 1620. Thus, in the short space of fourteen years these different plantations of mankind were made. The settlement of Pennsylvania was undertaken full sixty years later: and yet at the commencement of the

war for defence of our rights, one hundred and fifty-five years after the first settlement of New Plymouth, and only ninety-four years after the first settlement of Pennsylvania, the population, according to the congressional estimate, was, of

The eastern states, exclusive of Vermont, nearly as	70
That of New York, Vermont, and New Jersey,	33
That of Pennsylvania and Delaware, . .	33
And that of Maryland and Virginia, . .	64
Together,	200

Moreover, according to that estimate, the proportion of the states of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York, was,

Virginia, ...	44
Pennsylvania, ...	33
New York, including Vermont, . . .	22
Together,	99

But Virginia had been planted 168 years, New York 160, and Pennsylvania only 94, which gives a proportion to

Virginia, of	39
Pennsylvania, ...	38
And New York, ...	22
	99

So that the population of Virginia had advanced, compared with the term of settlement, 5, and Pennsylvania 11, while New York was deficient 16. The citizens of Pennsylvania, warmed with that attachment to their country so honourable to man, attributed their superior prosperity to natural and moral advantages which they believed themselves to possess. They supposed their climate more mild than ours, more salubrious than that of Virginia, their soil more fertile than either, and they contrasted the simplicity of manners among those called quakers, and their equality of civil condition, with what they supposed to be the luxury and aristocracy of men to whom manors had been

granted, and who were the masters of slaves. The citizens of New York, however, believed that the comparative prosperity of Pennsylvania might more naturally be attributed to circumstances more evident, and of less doubtful operation. Without acknowledging either a moral or civil superiority, they believed that nature had given them as good a climate, a better soil, and a more favourable situation; but their country had been from the beginning, a theatre of war, and stood in the fore front of the battle. New York was, like Joseph, a victim of parental kindness. Not, indeed, that her brethren, like his, were disposed to sell or kill the favourite child; but that their enemy endeavoured to subdue her, as the means more effectually to annoy them. The only accurate solution of such questions is made by time. For as experience is the groundwork, so is time the test of political reasoning. At the end of seven years from the period when the estimate mentioned was made, by the first congress, another severe hurricane of war had blown over our state, and laid it in ruins. Our frontier settlements had been broken up, and a part of our capital reduced to ashes. Our citizens were banished or beggared, and our commerce annihilated. Whatever doubts, therefore, may have been entertained as to the accuracy of proportions taken in 1775, there was no doubt left in 1783 but that we were below the ratio assumed when the war begun. In less than eight-and-twenty years, from that time, the census was taken on which the representation in congress is apportioned. And according to the ratio thereby established,

The eastern states, exclusive of Vermont, are as	53
New York, Vermont, and New Jersey, . .	60
Pennsylvania and Delaware, ...	38
Maryland and Virginia, . . .	49
Total,	200

Or allowing for the black population, which is not fully represented, the number would be,

In the eastern states, exclusive of Vermont, as	51
New York, Vermont and New Jersey,	58
Pennsylvania and Delaware,	36
And Maryland and Virginia,	55
Total,	200

If this be compared with the first proportion, viz. that made by estimate in 1775, we shall find that the eastern states have decreased 19, Virginia and Maryland 9, while this state, with Vermont and New Jersey, have increased 25, Pennsylvania and Delaware 3. Or taking the relation between Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York, which was,

Virginia, then,	44	Now,	45
Pennsylvania, then,	33	Now,	29
New York, with Vermont,	22	Without Vermont,	35
	99		99

It appears that Virginia has decreased 2, and Pennsylvania 4, making the 13 which New York has gained. In respect to Virginia, however, the variation may arise from those colonies which have left the ancient dominion to people southern and western states. It may be well, therefore, to confine our view to a comparison of this state with her sister Pennsylvania. In July 1775 the congress estimated the population of Pennsylvania and that of New York, then including Vermont, in a proportion of three to two, which gives to

Pennsylvania,	30
New York,	20
	50

but by the late apportionment of representatives,

Pennsylvania has	23
New York,	27
Together,	50

So that in the space of twenty-eight years of peace, from 1783 to 1811, Pennsylvania has lost seven in thirty, and New York has gained seven in twenty, on their relative proportion: and this, too, without including Vermont. Finally, the matter may be examined in a still more simple point of view, and speaking in round numbers, if the estimate of 1775 be considered as tolerably accurate, Massachusetts has increased one half, Pennsylvania has doubled, and New York quadrupled since it was made.

Excuse me, gentlemen, for dwelling so much on a calculation which may appear to some as mere amusement. It shows by conclusions which, founded on arithmetic, cannot be questioned, that the growth of this state was impeded only by the wars in which it has been so often, so deeply, and so disastrously engaged. From 1614, when Fort Orange, now Albany, was built, to 1810, when the last census was taken, there are seven terms of 28 years. During the first six terms, which ended in 1782, we had not attained to more than one fourth of our present condition. It has already been observed, that the settlement of Pennsylvania began in 1681, but as it may be contended that antecedent settlements in Delaware and New Jersey facilitated the undertaking of Mr. Penn, we may go back a few years, and suppose it to have commenced in 1670, from which time to that in which the last census was taken, there are five terms of twenty-eight years. In the first four, Pennsylvania attained to one half of her present condition, and had acquired more by one half than we had in six. But in the last term they have little more than doubled, while we have quadrupled. But it may be said that no reliance ought to be placed on the estimate made by congress in 1775, and that comparisons drawn from proportions then assumed, are not convincing. It may be well, therefore, to

test the question by a standard whose accuracy cannot be denied: The census of 1790 gave to Pennsylvania 424,099 white inhabitants. The increase in ten years was 38 per cent. in the next ten years 34 per cent. (or in the whole twenty years 85 per cent.) so as to amount in 1810 to 786,804. The census of 1790 gave to New York only 314,142 white inhabitants; being to Pennsylvania, *even then*, only in the proportion of near 3 to 4. The increase in ten years was 77 per cent. in the next ten year 65 per cent. (or in the whole twenty years, 192 per cent.) so as to amount in 1810 to 918,699: being to Pennsylvania, in the proportion of 7 to 6. And now let a glance be cast at the position of lands which have been settled in those two states, within the last twenty years. They are separated from each other by the river Delaware, for more than fifty miles, and then only by a mathematical line, for more than two hundred miles. It may be asserted, without danger of contradiction, that along this extensive frontier, New York is more thickly settled than Pennsylvania. Without contending, therefore, as to civil or moral advantage, it can hardly be denied that a soil and climate which have attracted such great population in the last term of 28 years, would have thickly settled the state long ago, had it not been for a political cause, which, while it retarded the population of New York, promoted and accelerated the population of Pensylvania. The political cause, unhappily for us, again brought into operation, was war with the possessor of Canada. It has already been noticed, that in the last ten years our number has increased 65 per cent. This city has in that period, nearly keeping pace with the aggregate, increased 60 per cent. But the western district has increased at the rate of 175 per cent. If we add the counties of Montgomery, Essex, Clinton,

and Franklin, so as to embrace the whole northern frontier, the rate of increase is 163 per cent.; the amount upwards of 261,000, whereas that district, those counties, and this city excepted, the ratio for the rest of the state was only 20 per cent.; and the amount little more than 75,000. In effect, near 262,000 out of not quite 373,000, our total increment, belonging to our northern and western country; so that seven tenths of that growth, which we beheld with astonishment and exultation, was the produce of a country now exposed to the chance and disasters of war. Nearly one other tenth was in the capital. This, gentlemen, is neither the place nor the occasiono to inquire into the policy, much less the justice of those measures, by which we are distressed. Bowing with deference to the national government, I am willing to suppose, that in so far as regards the United States, the war may have been begun, and is now carried on justly, wisely, happily; but for us, most unhappily. Every member of this society is, undoubtedly, disposed, by every proper exertion, and every possible sacrifice, to support the honour and independence of our country. But he, must be void of discernment who does not perceive, that war with the greatest naval power is no happy condition for a commercial people. Whether America will eventually rejoice in trophies gained, territory acquired, and privileges torn from an enemy subdued, or whether she shall weep for defeats sustained, dominion lost, and rights surrendered, must depend, under God, on the manner in which this war shall be conducted, and the wisdom and integrity of the negotiations by which it shall be concluded. But, whatever may be the feelings of our sister states, whether they, as events may indicate, shall clothe themselves in scarlet, or in

sackcloth, our house will, in all probability, be a house of mourning.

It is by the light of history and geography that we discern the interests of a country, and the means by which they can best be pursued, and secured. Am I mistaken in concluding, from the foregoing details, which may, I fear, have been tedious to you, that we should encourage husbandry, commerce, and useful arts, as the great columns which are to support the fabricof our wealth and power? That we should promote order, industry, science, and religion, not only as the guardians of social happiness, but as the outworks to the citadel of our liberty? And, finally, that we should, as the best means of effecting those objects, so arrange our concerns, as that the management of public affairs be entrusted to men of wisdom, firmness, and integrity? I will venture to add the idea that, in any political change which circumstances may induce, we should respect the example of our predecessors, the Six Nations, and not be persuaded to ask for a king, that he may go out before us, like the other nations, nor submit to the sway of hereditary nobles. It would be a fatal delusion, if, for the military vigour of one institution, or the political cunning of the other, we should surrender that freedom which ennobles man. Nor would it be less fatal, that, with a view to simplicity and unity, we should permit the consolidation of too great a mass: for history teaches that republican spirit is liable to ferment, when in a large vessel, and be changed to the corroding acid of despotism.

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT THEIR ANNIVERSARY MEETING,

6th DECEMBER, 1813.

EMBRACING

A CONCISE AND COMPREHENSIVE ACCOUNT OF THE WRITINGS WHICH ILLUSTRATE THE BOTANICAL HISTORY OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA.

BY SAMUEL L. MITCHILL, M. D.

ONE OF THE COUNSELLORS OF THE SOCIETY; MEMBER OF THE ALBANY SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF ARTS; OF THE ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES AT BOSTON; OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY AT PHILADELPHIA; CORRESPONDING FELLOW OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN MASSACHUSETTS; HONORARY MEMBER OF THE MEDICAL SOCIETIES OF GEORGIA, SOUTH-CAROLINA, AND NEW-HAMPSHIRE; PROFESSOR OF NATURAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW-YORK, &c. &c.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

December 6th, 1813.

RESOLVED, *That the thanks of this Society be presented to Doctor* SAMUEL L. MITCHILL, *for the Discourse delivered by him this day; and that* WILLIAM JOHNSON, *Esquire, Doctor* DAVID HOSACK, *and* JOHN PINTARD, *be appointed a Committee to wait on Dr. Mitchill with this resolution, and to request a copy of his discourse for publication.*

Extract from the minutes,

JOHN PINTARD,
Recording Secretary.

PREFACE.

It is generally known to those who are conversant in the history of the vegetable creation, that an elaborate catalogue of the books and publications concerning them, was completed about the year 1740, by J. Francis Seguier. He was a botanist, a man of learning, and the particular friend of Baron Haller. Assisted by the vast collections of a literary and scientific kind at Paris; by the library of Sloane and other gentlemen at London, and in the different parts of Europe, he was enabled to see and examine an uncommon number of volumes on this department of natural history. Besides, having accompanied Scipio Maffei on his travels, and procured the principal writings on medical history, as well as the catalogues of public institutions, and of booksellers, he was enabled to take a more extensive survey than any writer had done before him, of all that had been published: 1. On botany, 2. On botanical medicine, and, 3. On farming and gardening. This great performance of Seguier came forth, at the Hague, in quarto, under the title of *Bibliotheca Botanica, seu Catalogus Librorum omnium, qui de re Botanicâ, de Medicamentis ex Vegetabilibus paratis, de re Rusticâ, et de Horticulturâ tractant.* Haller honours his friend, the author, with an acknowledgment of the freedom with which he had consulted it, and of the important service it had rendered him.

After a view of this grand collection of materials, Albert Van Haller begun his greater compilation, termed, also, *Bibliotheca Botanica.* This

work, which probably no person but himself could have achieved, was published by Charles Heydinger, at London, during 1771 and 1772, in two large quartos. The former of these embraces the history of those matters which relate to botany, from the earliest ages to nearly the close of the 17th century; and the latter continues the same to the time of publication. This rich treasury of botanical knowledge is comprehended in ten books: 1st. The beginnings of botany, as derived from the Greek writers. 2d. The information obtained from the Arabians. 3d. The botanical intelligence obtained from the Arabistæ, or followers of the Arabian masters, after the fall of the Roman empire in the west, and the propagation of Mahometism. 4th. The condition of the study, under the *restorers* of learning, near the end of the 15th century, and as much of the 16th as reaches to 1540. 5th. The history of the *inventers* or *discoverers*, who flourished from the last-mentioned date to the end of the 16th century. 6th. From the time of the *Bauhines*, about the commencement of the 17th century, to 1622. 7th. From this last period to, and through the era of *Ray* in 1659. 8th. From *Ray* to *Tournefort*, in 1692. 9th. The age of Tournefort himself, extending to 1731. And, 10th. The age of *Linnæus*, as far as 1772, the year the publication was completed.

This prodigious mass of erudition is the result of twenty years' labour. It is dedicated to the Earl of Bute, whom, with George the Third, he extols in strains of eulogy, that by no means correspond with American feelings. The liberal critic will remember, however, that this took place before those personages had incurred odium by the part they took in our revolutionary war.

Beside the distribution of the materials, according to their occurrence and succession, this

indefatigable man, certainly one of the most distinguished the last century produced, has been careful to give the titles of the publications; the names of the authors, editors, publishers, and translators; and, generally, where it has been instructive or practicable, a brief and perspicuous abstract of their contents. It thereby becomes a most important body of references to the greater part of the authorities extant before its appearance. It is scarcely credible, that so many volumes should have been printed on botanical subjects; or that, being published, any individual could have found them, or become acquainted with their merits. But with the aid of the labours done by his predecessors, of the communications made by his cotemporaries, and of his own incomparable and invincible industry, he surmounted all difficulties, and reduced the enormous heap into a methodical form.

In attempting to give a catalogue of such writings as treat of American botany, it would be incorrect to say that I had disregarded the works of these illustrious men. So far is this from being the case, that I have greatly profited by their labours; and I consider my performance as being the more valuable on account of such substantial help.

It becomes me, nevertheless, to inform the reader, that very little was known in Europe, concerning the vegetables of the new world, until some time in the 16th century. Nothing, therefore, written before that time, could be of any service to me, in the present undertaking. It is quite as plain, that I could not have gathered any thing from these predecessors, since the year 1772. Of course, my account of the publications on American plants during twenty-eight years of the last century, and twelve of the present, a term of forty

years, could not have been copied from them. This period, the most eventful and important of the whole for occidental inquirers, has been done by my own hand. And the learned examiner will find, that a similar course has been pursued in every other instance where original publications could be procured.

At any rate, I flatter myself that an inquiry, which has cost me considerable toil, will render researches of this kind easy to those who shall follow me. The soil of the two Americas teems with vegetable life, as peculiar in its features as it is diversified and elegant. The present performance may serve as an index for the person who desires to know how much has been done in becoming acquainted with the individuals and tribes that cover and adorn the earth. Yet, it may have a further use: for, by enabling the botanist to form a readier and better judgment concerning the vegetables that are new and undescribed, it may have a tendency to accelerate the progress of discovery.

A

DISCOURSE, &c.

Mr. President, and
Gentlemen of the Historical Society,

Being about to discourse to you concerning the documents that are extant, or which have come to my knowledge, on *the vegetable productions of the two Americas*, I deem it correct to introduce the subject by a few remarks derived from the most ancient and authoritative of all histories. From these it will appear, that plants are of great importance in the economy of the world, and in the destination allotted to them by their Creator.

It has pleased the Almighty, in the display he has given of his works, to distribute these organized living beings abundantly over the face of the earth. The third day of the creation was distinguished for the goodly productions of grass and herb, yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit. To man, on the sixth day, was given for meat every herb bearing seed that is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed. Every plant of the field, before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field, before it grew, were the result of this wonderful power.

The garden he planted eastward, in Eden, was the place selected for the residence of the man he had formed from the dust of the ground. In it was made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; and among them the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This choice collection of plants, watered by a fourfold stream, was given into the custody of Adam, to dress and to keep, under certain directions and restrictions.

The disobedience of the first pair, in eating the fruit of the forbidden tree; the curse pronounced upon the ground in consequence thereof, with the woes of thorns and thistles, of being doomed to eat the herb of the field, of eating bread in the sweat of his face, and of returning, at last, to the dust whence he was taken, all point out the interesting connection between the history of plants and that of the human race. And when it is considered that God sent him forth from Paradise to till the land, the importance of his mission, in regard to the vegetable part of the creation, will be abundantly manifest.

It appears that Cain, the son of Adam, followed his father's calling, and was a tiller of the ground; and, also, that his descendants, for several generations, were engaged in the same occupation. This probably went on until Jabal, long after the death of the shepherd Abel, became the father of such as dwell in tents, and have cattle; and until Tubal Cain grew to be the instructer of every artificer in brass and iron.

The fact of the olive leaf plucked by the dove sent from the ark, during the subsidence of the waters of the deluge, leads to a belief that the whole vegetable tribes did not perish by that inundation. On the other hand, the declaration to the survivors of that catastrophe, that "every moving

thing that liveth shall be meat for you; *even as the green herb have I given you all things,*" fairly warrants such a construction. And the two facts, taken in connection with the subsequent occupation of Noah as an husbandman, and the planter of a vineyard, give great strength to the opinion.

The vegetable species are famous for having afforded materials for the most ancient fable on record. For when Abimeleck, by the exercise of indirect and sinister arts, was made king by the Shechemites, Jotham, the surviving brother of a slaughtered house, satirized the new sovereign and his adherents by the celebrated parable of the trees going forth to anoint a king, and not being able to procure the consent of the *olive*, the *fig*, and the *vine*, to rule over them, elected the *bramble* to the head of their government.

That prince of the Hebrews who is celebrated for the wisdom with which he surpassed all his cotemporaries and predecessors excelled in natural as well as civil knowledge. Solomon was a proficient in physics as well as in ethics. His maker had expanded his understanding, and enlarged his heart, even as the sand that is on the sea shore. The mouth that uttered three thousand proverbs, and a thousand and five songs, *spake also of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall;* and some of the most elegant parts of his poetical compositions that have reached us, are derived from his acquaintance with the germination and inflorescence of plants. "Thy plants," says the royal enthusiast, "are an orchard of pomegranates with pleasant fruits; camphire with spikenard; spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense, myrrh, and aloes, with all the chief spices." Again: "I went down into the garden of nuts, to see the fruits of the valley, and to see

whether the vine flourished, and the pomegranates budded." And also: "Lo! the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth."

Further to evince the importance of vegetables, we have but to consider them in a moral point of view. The *gourd* that flourished and perished over the head of a repining prophet (Jonah, 3.) was made the means of administering to him a sharp and seasonable reproof. And the parables of the seed committed to the earth by the sower, (Matth. 13. Mark 4. Luke 8.) of the fig-tree that produced no fruit, (Luke 13.) and of the vine and its branches, (John 15.) were employed by him who spake as never man spoke, to inculcate the most sublime doctrines.

I forbear to mention to those whose memories are stored by classical imagery, the entertaining stories of the persecuted Daphne transformed into a *laurel*, of the self-enamoured Narcissus, into a *flower*, and of the weeping sisters of Phaeton, into *poplars*. The fascinating descriptions of them by Ovid are in every body's recollection or reach; and which of you can traverse the woods, enter the gardens, or walk the streets, without thinking of metamorphoses so strange.

With this apology I approach the subject of my discourse, which is to give you a summary of the historical information extant, relative to the plants of the western hemisphere.

When the sons of Europe first visited these occidental climes, they beheld islands and a continent, covered with natural growth, resembling one continued forest. So many novel productions struck their sight, that they knew not what they saw. The luxuriance of the branches and foliage transcended every thing that had been presented to the eyes of these adventurers, while the singu-

lar and inimitable beauty of their blossoms, their fruits, and their forms, had no parallel in the regions whence the voyagers came.

The picturesque scenes in the American mountains possess a grandeur and majesty unequalled on the face of the globe. The two summits of Peru, Chimboraço and Catopaxi, the highest elevations upon earth, exhibit an extraordinary spectacle. The eye is struck with the region of verdure, on which vegetables grow as high as the limit of ever-during frost and snow; and next, with the zone of ice which reaches upward to the points from which heated vapours, and, occasionally, volcanic flames proceed. Above these fiery outlets, the clear blue sky, as the cyanometer proves, appears purified from terrestrial exhalations. Amidst these objects the naturalist traces, with satisfaction, the different plants occupying their several stations on the mountain sides, according to their respective constitutions, and the corresponding altitude above the level of the ocean. And, by close examination, learns what vegetables offer themselves to his observation as he passes upward from the depths where the subterraneous and submarine species naturally dwell, through all the spaces to the climate where unrelenting cold never permits ice to melt. The stupendous elevation is such that if Vesuvius was placed upon the top of Mount Blanc, the two would not equal Chimboraço alone!

So when a traveller passes from the equator to the poles, plants adapted to the torrid, the temperate, and frigid zones, rise successively before him. Some of them minister to him the material for kindling and keeping fire; some with the means of preparing clothes and raiment; others with tools and implements, armour and weapons; others, again, with timber for houses, and the vari-

ous other structures he may wish to raise. From others he derives food and sustenance. Some give him the means of annoyance and poison; while yet others, by their colours, afford him ornament and finery; and, to render their history the more interesting, numberless animals live in, or derive their support, directly or indirectly, from plants.

The vegetable creation has, accordingly, attracted the curious regard, and excited the descriptive talents of many observers. But their performances lie scattered over a wide field. It shall be my humble office to gather them together, and array them distinctly before you. Though toil and fatigue may attend the search, I shall not be discouraged. Emboldened by the worthiness of the pursuit, by its connection with the honourable charater of my country, and, above all, by the favour and indulgence of this learned society, I shall exhibit such a catalogue of writers and writings upon American botany, as will, I trust, satisfy the minds of those who honour me with a hearing, how copious is the theme; and render the researches of those who may follow me in this department of knowledge, familiar and easy.

Nevertheless, upon reflection, I almost shrink from my purpose. For I remember the ingenious and erudite oration of that gentleman (Rev. Dr. Miller) who urged the claims of Verazzano, to be the discoverer of New York early in the 16th century. The benefits of civil history, with critical observations and practical directions on the manner of writing it, have been ably discussed by a most worthy member, who is himself an historian, (Dr. Williamson.) It is impossible for me to forget the profound and instructive discourse of that member, (Mr. Clinton,) who drew such a true and lively picture of the aboriginal man. Nor can I

devest myself of the recollection, that a most eloquent citizen (Mr. Morris) addressed you forcibly at the last anniversary, on the resources, the power, and stability of this commonwealth. Yet, I ought not to despond. Such bright examples invite imitation; and I cheerfully consent to follow, where I can neither lead nor keep even pace.

In tracing the history of American plants, it appears that they attracted considerable attention from the adventurers and collectors of the 16th century. The occurrences of this period will be arranged under two divisions: 1st, That of persons who made publications, concerning things they saw or knew; and, 2dly, Of those that collected and published the narratives of others.

History of American botany during the 16th century.

I. By travellers.

1526. Gonzalez Hernandez de Oviedo, published, in the Spanish tongue, at Toledo, his general and natural history of the Indias, and of the continent beyond the ocean. He was rector of the parish of Santa Maria in Terra Firma. Of this work, the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th books, treat of botany. In the 7th, useful plants and trees are described, with the art of making bread from maize, and manioc. Of the latter, he mentions two species, the wholesome and the poisonous. He names potatoes, pine apples, and other esculent plants. Among the vegetables in the 8th, he describes the bixa, pitahaya, tuna, and cereus; and presents some drawings. Forest trees are treated of in the 9th; such as the mangle, manchineel, tree-ferns, and others. The 10th contains the medical trees and plants; such as as guaiacum, cotton, and many more. It is worthy of note, that about this time, guaiacum was called le saint bois, lignum

sanctum, or the holy wood, as it is to this day, lignumvitæ, or the wood of life.

1545—1556. Between these years appeared the several editions, in French, Latin, English and Italian of Hieronymus Benzon's history of the new world. He had passed fourteen years there, and on his return to Europe, published this book in octavo. Beside the events and occurrences he relates, this author recites various information about maize, yuoca, tobacco, and the trees of the places he visited. Though there are some exaggerations and fables, Benzon's work, as it has had a large share of popular attention, deserves to be mentioned on such an occasion as this.

1554. Andrew Thevet, a monk, visited several parts of America, and among others, the southeastern region, now called Brazil. He published a book this year in Paris, upon the singularities of Antarctic France, otherwise called America. It is a poor piece of patchwork; the author applying to the productions of the new world, the descriptions of the ancient writers, and now and then describing things he never saw. Yet, from his own real descriptions and figures, imperfect and rude as they are, something may be gathered. On some productions of the regions he visited, his pages are worthy of being consulted; and in another work, that he published in 1584 at Paris, entitled a general history of the West Indias and of new countries, he also remembers plants.

1554. This same year, Francis Lopez de Gomara published, at Antwerp, his history of Mexico; a work which contains some articles of information on natural productions.

1580. John Lery published a work entitled a Voyage to the Land of Brazil; otherwise called American Rochelle. It appeared first in French, and then in Latin. He was concerned in the unfortu-

nate expedition of the count Villegagnon to Rio Janeiro. Though a priest, he attended carefully to the productions of nature, and gave the economical and medical history of a considerable number of American plants.

1590. This year was distinguished by the appearance, at Seville, in quarto, of the natural history of the Indias, by Joseph Acosta. It was reprinted in various places afterward; and translated into Latin, French, Dutch, Italian, English and German. The author lived some time in Peru; and returned to Europe in 1587. The fourth book contains his account of American vegetables, more especially those of the region where he had resided. It is a respectable body of information, relative to flowers, balsams and trees, with their medical and economical virtues; but without figures. He notices the cochineal plant, under the name of tuna. The rest of the work relates to other matters; and, indeed, the chief portion of it treats of religious concerns.

II. By compilers.

1550. To this year is referred the Italian collection of Voyages and Travels, all over the world; published by I. B. Ramusio. In the first volume are contained the Adventures of Amerigo Vespucci to the new world, and the voyage of circumnavigation by Ferdinand Magelhaens. The former gave a name to the western hemisphere, and Pigafetta, the companion of the latter, began a journey in 1519, wherein the more rare plants and trees are described. The second volume contains very little about botany. But in the third, the latter edition of which bears date in 1613, may be seen the work of Oviedo, and the relation made by Jacques Cartier, concerning New France, and the plants he found there: some of which are like those of Europe; and others, quite different, are

new. I need not mention the military exploits of Cortez and Pizarro, which occupy many of the remaining pages.

1590. Here ought to be placed the commencement of that compilation of Jacob Theodore de Bry, and of his son, John Israel de Bry, entitled, America, or, A Collection of Voyages and Travels in America.

The first part contains John Withe's description of the productions and customs of Virginia. This tract was also printed at London in 1588; and came forth in German in 1590.

The second part contains the expeditions of Renatus de Laudonniere and Jacob le Moine, otherwise called De Gourgues, into Carolina, in 1591. The botanical information they afford relates, however, chiefly to the native fruits and vines.

Part the third contains the history of Brazil, 1592, by J. Stadt. This includes a sketch of the more useful plants, particularly of three sorts of pepper.

John Lery's journey, is contained in the 4th; Benzon's Novus Orbis, in the 5th and 6th; and Ulric Faber's voyage to Buenos Ayres, the river Parana, and some districts of Brazil, in the 7th. The voyages of Hawkins, Candish, and Raleigh fill the 8th; but they afford nothing of much value to the botanist. The work of Acosta is inserted in the 9th; as are also the voyages of Sebald de Weerdt and Oliver de Noort, through the straits of Magelhaens, in 1602. These are merely narratives of nautical and sea-faring occurrences.

The inquirer finds, in the 10th part, the two voyages of Americus Vespuccius, Hamar's account of Virginia, and J. Smith's Colony of Penobscot. These events reach to 1619. The 11th and 12th comprehend Anthony de Herrera's History of the West Indies, with the voyages of Le Maire

and Schouten. The former of these has been published in English and French, separately, and in collections at different times and places. The latter are barren of botany.

The 13th and 14th parts, which were added in 1627, are merely noted here, as portions of American history.

The two De Brys, father and son, made another collection of voyages and travels; but as these relate to adventures and discoveries in the East Indies, a particular examination of it would be a departure from the course I have prescribed to myself.

1599—1600. About the end of this century, and the commencement of the next, came forth Richard Hackluyt's principal navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation, by sea and land, in three volumes, folio, at London. In reciting the journeys, travels, and labours of his heroes, he has faithfully inserted the passages of their writings that relate to the history of vegetables, more especially of those which are employed in dyeing, and the other arts, and those used in trade, and for merchandize. He published at the same place, in 1619, a translation of a Portuguese tract, entitled "Virginia richly valued by the description of Florida, her neighbour."

History of American Botany during the seventeenth century.

For the purpose of avoiding a separation of subjects conveniently connected, a few of the materials appertaining in strict chronology to this period of time, were anticipated in the preceding division of this discourse. In proceeding to enumerate the men who have contributed to improve our knowledge of this department of history, and bring to your recollection the records of their exertions, I

shall observe as much exactness, as to time and authorship, as my opportunities have permitted.

I. By travellers.

1615. Francis Hernandez published, at Mexico, in the Spanish tongue, a work, in quarto, on the nature and virtues of the trees, plants and animals of New Spain, and more particularly of the province of Mexico, as to their medical usefulness. Cæsius and Ferrinus prepared a new edition about the year 1628; but it was retarded a long time, and finally appeared at Rome, in folio, during 1651. It was not, however, at full length, as the original performance was; but digested into a history, turned into Latin, of the vegetables, animals, and minerals of Mexico. Of the ten books into which the work is distributed, eight are devoted to botany; and the other two to zoology and mineralogy. The original work of Hernandez, with the drawings, is said to have been consumed in the fire of the escurial.

This was the earliest of the great works on American botany. It excited the more attention, as at the time of the publication, almost every thing it contained was new to transatlantic readers. His descriptions are short, and, tested by the present rules of criticism, not sufficiently technical. The figures, however, are not bad. The medical qualities are too vague and general; and the specific characters are not distinctly noted; yet, after all this, unjust and invidious would be the man who should deny to Hernandez the praise of extraordinary merit. I merely name his commentators and expositors, Terrentius and Recchus.

1622. In a list of publications, in which American plants are noted, it would be improper to omit a distinct mention, and in its proper place, of A. De Herrera's description of the West Indies, translated into Latin by Barlæus, and printed at Am-

sterdam. He mentions, concisely, some objects of natural history, and more particularly, certain native plants.

1624. Between this year and 1630, are to be placed captain John Smith's general history of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Islands, London; and his travels in Europe, &c. being a continuation of his history of Virginia. These performances are mentioned, because scraps of this sort of information may be gathered from them.

1633. John de Laet published at Leyden his Novis Orbis, or description of the West Indies. In describing the provinces of America, this writer enumerates regularly the fruits, trees, and useful plants.

1635. Jacob Cornutus deserves to be mentioned here: for, although he was not an American traveller, he described American plants. He published, this year, at Paris, *Historia Canadensium Plantarum, aliarumque nondum editarum;* to which is added a Parisian Botanical Manual. After describing a few plants from the ancients, Cornutus gives an account of those which had been sent to him from Canada, and cultivated in the gardens of the Messrs. Robin. The performance is well executed. The reader is amused to find him calling the northeastern section of North America, *Notha* Anglia, or *Bastard* England, being vexed and spiteful, to hear it called *Nova* Anglia, or *New* England.

1643. I mention here, on account of its great curiosity, and for the entertainment of that part of my audience, which may be tinctured with Batavian blood, the *tulipa mania* of their forefathers in Holland. This epidemic frenzy was rife about this time, and raged with extraordinary violence, in and around the city of Haerlem. The disease was excited by all rare blossoms, and particularly

by tulips. A single bulb of a tulip was sold for 3,000, 4,200, 4,400, and even 5,400 florins. The tricks, frauds, and folly, in this insane traffick, were so great, that it was ordained by public authority, that money should not be recoverable on tulip contracts. Cash or honour must secure the bargain.

This year there was a remarkable pamphlet published on the subject, at Amsterdam. Like gold and diamonds, the roots were weighed with the most scrupulous nicety. The cheating, nevertheless, was so scandalous, that it was high time to refuse to that species of gambling the sanction of law.

The present generation may smile while they calculate, that a solitary tulip should have been bought, and willingly paid for, at prices varying from 1,100 to upwards of 2,000 dollars of the United States!

1647. Samuel Champlain, the Canadian colonist, published his travels in New France, at several times before the present date. He was so deeply engaged in the business of provincial administration, and in the affairs of party strife and contention, that he would not deserve to be named before you, had he not noted the very late days in the season whereon certain plants first opened their flowers in Tadussac. He was a very active man; frequently crossed the ocean; built Quebec; and afterward lived at Annapolis, in the bay of Fundy. It is remarkable, that a man so deeply immerged in the heat and vehemence which agitated the emigrant settlers in their new abodes, should have found time or inclination to observe any particulars of the vegetable creation around him. Yet, as he has done something evincing a commendable enlargement of mind, he deserves credit for it.

1648. An English monk, named Thomas Gage, published at London, in 1648, and afterward, his Survey of the West Indies, in folio. It underwent translations into French, German, and other tongues. The author turned protestant, and lived to a good old age. He has given a sensible enumeration of the vegetables growing in Mexico and Guatimala; not, indeed, as a man of science, but as one well acquainted with their popular uses and qualities. He seems to be circumstantially acquainted with cacao, and its product, chocolate.

1648. William Piso published, in Latin, a natural history of Brazil at Amsterdam. In this work he is associated with George Marcgraff. The former was a physician; the latter a domestic of his. They went to Brazil with Prince Maurice of Nassau. Piso describes many plants; some of them are figured, and very well too, though not with their botanical characters. His fourth book is devoted to the plants of that country; the rest of the work chiefly treats of Brazilian medicines, poisons and antidotes. Marcgraff afterward compiled a distinct work, in eight books, on the natural history of Brazil. The three first treat of the vegetable productions. In a new country he discovered a great number of plants, which he delineated with his own hand, and enriched with aboriginal names. It is a rich body of information; and was published by De Laet, after Marcgraff's death, on a voyage to Africa. Afterward, in 1658, a book came out at Amsterdam, in Piso's name, on the natural and medical history of the Indies, which comprehended Marcgraff's work, with that of Piso.

1654. A Dominican friar, named John Baptist du Tertre, published, in French, at Paris, in two volumes, a general history of the Antilles, inhabited by the French. The 3d and 4th volumes ap-

peared in 1671, in quarto. He principally dwells upon the events of the war between the French and English, and upon the contentions between the different parties of the French among themselves. Nevertheless, he has paid more attention to botany, than could have been expected from a person of his condition. The second part of his third tract is devoted to plants, particularly those which are useful in diet, medicine, and the arts. He presents a tolerably good description of their form, culture, preparation, and virtue, like an actual observer, though not of the scientific order. There are some plates, the character of which is, that the best are not much above middling; and some are even bad. Yet, this work has been freely used by succeeding compilers and plagiaries.

1655. Adrian Van Derdonk published, at Amsterdam, his geographical and natural history of the Dutch colony, on the North and South Rivers, in low Dutch. This performance is of the plain and superficial class, and treats of those parts of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, then termed New Netherlands.

1657. Richard Ligon, a cook, a fowler, and a surveyor, published the Natural History of Barbadoes, in small folio, London. The work, though written in prison, bears evidence of correct observation: particularly, his observations on sugar, on culinary fruits, and their uses, and on the economical employment of the natural productions of the island, are those of a man of good perceptions, who was on the spot, and saw for himself.

1658. This year appeared at Paris, in quarto, the Natural and Moral History of the Antilles, by Charles de Rochefort. This work was translated into English, Dutch, and German, within a few years after its appearance in French. He was not a very good observer; nor does he seem to relate

faithfully what he saw. His figures are not exact, though he borrows from De Laet, Piso, and others. His history of Tobago, which was published in 1666, was apparently intended as an eulogy upon that island, in which he had for some time resided.

1658. I have a moderate quarto, handsomely printed this year, at Rotterdam, by an author who conceals or reveals his name under the signature of L. D. P. It is in French, and is entitled the Natural and Moral History of the Antilles of America. It is enriched by many figures of natural and artificial productions, and by a vocabulary of the Caribbee tongue. After bestowing five chapters of the work upon the general and particular history of this interesting chain of islands, he employs the succeeding ones, from the 6th to the 11th inclusive, to a description of the trees, shrubs, fruits, flowers, and other vegetable productions. Those six chapters are filled with separate descriptions and drawings. Both have the appearance of being done by a person of correct information, both as to their natural condition, and the description contained in books. The copy in my possession once belonged to the library of the late Sir Wm. Young.

1666. To this date may be referred a very early paper, No. 12, in the transactions of the Royal Society of London, by Robert Murray, on the cultivation of the mulberry tree in Virginia.

1676. Thomas Glover's Essay on the natural history of Virginia (English Philosoph. Trans. No. 126.) treats of the cultivated plants, and of the more exquisite indigenous ones; more especially of tobacco and its culture.

1683. Louis Hennepin, in his description of Louisiana, printed this year, at Paris, in duodeci-

mo, enumerates various useful plants in the region he describes.

1689. William Vernon, the companion of Spon and Wheeler, who travelled so reputably into Greece, afterward visited Maryland, and gathered there several hundred plants. I need scarcely mention that one of the most stately and showy of our autumnal plants, the purple pride of our meadows, the vernonia noveboracensis, is so called in honour of him.

1692. To this era may be referred the memoir of John Banister (in the English Phil. Trans. No. 198.) on the plants he collected in Virginia. It may be observed, on this occasion, that he fell a victim to the fatigue of gathering them.

Shortly after, and before the end of the 17th century, John Clayton visited Virginia, and began a correspondence with the Royal Society, concerning the vegetable productions of that country. His essays on tobacco, and on the medicinal plants of Virginia, may be seen, ibidem, No. 205, 206, and 454. It has been asked whether this was the same man who collected for Gronovius, to be noticed afterward?

1696. Now it was that Sir Hans Sloane laid before the learned world the result of his residence in Jamaica. In this he endeavoured to arrange every thing that could embellish the natural history of that island. The numerous and elegant drawings which decorate this work, added to the correct descriptions it contains, have justly raised its distinguished author to the rank of a founder of botany. With figures amounting to more than five hundred, Sloane appears before the public with uncommon claims upon their attention. His catalogue, printed, 1696, London, comprehends the plants spontaneously growing, and those cultivated in Jamaica; as also some which are found in

Madeira, Barbadoes, Nevis, and Saint Kitts. This performance will always be admired by those who love and understand botany.

1697. Here is assigned a place to William Dampier's account of a new voyage round the world, which appeared in this and the succeeding years, and was translated into the principal European languages. It is worthy of being consulted by the curious examiner, as he visited the isthmus of Darien, the coast of Caraccas, the Antilles, and even Virginia; and gave some information of the vegetable productions, such as manchineel, mangrove, cacao, and tobacco. In his later voyages he mentions various palms, cotton, tuna, vanilla, bread-fruit, betel, mango, cocos, and some others.

1699. Was published at London, in octavo, a new voyage and description of the Isthmus of America, by Lionel Wafer. He was a surgeon, and went to Darien in 1681. Having been wounded and detained, he lived many months among the natives, and supported himself by his profession. He describes the manners of that people, their agricultural state, and their fruit-bearing trees in a plain and honest way.

1698. The year before the last-mentioned work appeared, was published, in London, Gabriel Thomas's historical description of the province and country of New Jersey. A German version of it appeared at Frankfort in 1702. Its particular contents and merits are unknown to me.

II. By compilers.

1625. To this and the following year belong the Pilgrims of Samuel Purchas, a collection of voyages and travels, worthy to be consulted by the botanist, though greatly more interesting to the general historian. He has been thought to be less chaste and candid than his predecessor Hackluyt. The amount of his gatherings was printed in Lon-

don and fills five folio volumes. They are too well known to the society whom I address for me to offer you either abstract or analysis.

1664. Now, and during the succeeding years, Melchizedec de Thevenot published, at Paris, his collection of voyages in Europe, Africa, and Asia. I mention the work as containing nothing relative to America. He seems to have left that part of the globe to other compilers.

1699. About this time, or a very few years afterward, perhaps in 1702, commenced, at Paris, the publication of the edifying and curious letters written from the foreign missions, by the missionaries of the company of Jesus. This work progressed until it reached twenty-eight volumes or more. The body of the performance relates to the conversion of the heathen to christianity. But there is a variety of other and useful intelligence, relative to travels in different parts of the world, and to natural productions. America comes in for a part; and some pages refer to its vegetable growth. Volume 10th contains the history of the Moxans, an aboriginal tribe of Peru, and of their cinchona, or Jesuit's bark. In volume 11th may be seen something about logwood. In the 17th is information concerning our myrtle-wax, and maple sugar. The 21st has some considerations on the apalachy plant, or Paraguay tea. And the man of industrious research will find some other morsels of American intelligence.

I now proceed to lay before you a sketch of

The History of American Botany, during the eighteenth century.

I. By travellers.

1702. Here I place the Pterigraphia Americana of James Petiver, of London, a zealous naturalist. Among the numerous things he did and wrote,

was the publication of twenty plates, representing the figures of almost two hundred ferns and marine productions. He published other figures of American plants, in several distinct tracts. The paper, No. 246. Phil. Trans. Lond. is a catalogue of the plants of Maryland, sent to him by Hugh Jones.

1703. Captain Woodes Rogers' voyage round the globe was published. He went to Campeachy on the logwood business. He also visited New Holland. He had a taste for botanical information; carried a draughtsman with him; and gave good figures of some, and descriptions of many plants, that he saw at the numerous places at which he landed in circumnavigating the world.

1703. John Boudot, printer to king Louis XIV, and the Royal Academy of Sciences, now laid before the public, a work from his press at Paris, entitled *Nova Plantarum Americanarum Genera;* auctore P. Carolo Plumier, &c. He styles himself a minim friar and royal botanist for the American isles. With an ardent and indomitable passion for travelling and botanizing, he went to the West Indies, and traversed the islands, over and again, between 1689 and 1697. Of the plants that he carried to Paris, Tournefort embodied a considerable number into his Institutes, arranging the species, where that could be done, under known genera, and where that could not be accomplished, constituting new genera. Yet, after all, there were many plants remaining in his hands which he undertook to name, to describe, and to delineate for himself. They are embraced in a quarto volume of moderate size.

In naming the genera, Plumier has done remarkable honour to the cultivators and lovers of botany, by introducing their names to designate the vegetable families. He applied to certain

vegetable species the generic appellation of Borbonia, in honour to Gaston of Bourbon, the son of Henry the Great, and uncle of Louis the Great, a munificent patron of botanical science. He named another family, Guidonia, in compliment to the physician of the reigning monarch, eminent for his poetical, medical, and botanical attainments. His Pittonia was done from the grandfather of the famous Tournefort. Brossæa, from Guy de Brosses author of a valuable French publication on the natures, virtues, and uses of plants. Ximenea, from the Spanish priest of that name, who wrote four books in the Mexican tongue, on the vegetables and animals of New Spain, in 1615, and not noticed before in this discourse. Hernandia, from the distinguished person, before mentioned, who, by order of king Philip II. explored New Spain for the purpose of becoming better acquainted with its productions. Pisonia, from the Brazilian botanist. Marcgravia, from his fellow labourer in exploring for plants the Portuguese provinces. Coa, from the island that gave birth to Hippocrates. Eresia, from the native place of Theophrastus. Dioscorea, Plinia, Ruellia, Brunfelsia, Fuchsia, Rondeletia, Turnera, Matthiola, Lonicera, Maranta, Dalechampia, Tabernæmontana, Cameraria, Dodonæa, Clusia, Lobelia, Bauhinia, Gerardia, Morisonia, Magnolia, Bromelia, and a number more, were called, by Plumier, from the names of men whom he wished to distinguish and honour.

To his new genera, is added a catalogue of such American plants as he had described, although they were already registered in the Institutes of Tournefort. The figures which illustrate his genera, are minute, numerous and distinct. He may justly be considered as a genius of the first order, a rich contributor to botany, and a great im-

prover of the science, especially in its relation to America. His first edition has been said by some to have appeared as early as 1693.

1705. Maria Sybilla Merian, a Dutch lady, skilled in painting, went to Surinam. Her leading object appears to have been the enlargement of her knowledge of insects. These she delineated with uncommon elegance and fidelity; and as the individuals of the insect species usually frequent some particular plant for food, she has delineated the vegetable infested by the respective animals in equal correctness and beauty. Her work thus became a valuable body of botany. The pine-apple, the manioc, cotton, guava, plantain, vanilla, cacao, potatoe, and many more are delineated in superb style. The work is a folio of unusually large size, and the edition which I examined is in Low Dutch.

1709. A quarto volume, by J. Lawson, is noted in the catalogues of this year. It is entitled, A New Voyage to Carolina, containing the Natural History of the Country. It is reported to abound with useful information respecting plants, and has been often respectfully quoted.

1710. Dierville's relation of a Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia, was printed first at Rouen, and afterward at Amsterdam, in 12mo, but the botanist can gather but little from it.

1712. Edward Cooke's voyage to the South Sea, and round the World, London, 1712, 8vo. contains some good facts on the useful plants of America, and elsewhere, made during his expedition.

1715. Olaus Borrichius, in his Academical Dissertations, published at Copenhagen, mentions a curious fact: a parcel of American earth, brought from Brazil by Prince Maurice of Nassau, produced spontaneously innumerable Brazilian plants;

and afterward became a soil productive only of the vegetables of Holland.

1716. M. Fresier offered to the public at Paris, his relation of a Voyage to the South Sea, to the coast of Chili, Peru, and Brazil, made during 1712, 1713, and 1714, in 4to. It underwent the usual translations of works in demand, by being turned into English, German, and Dutch. He describes the strawberry of Chili that bears the grand fruit. He observes that the Peruvians called the excellent solanum, not *potatoe*, as we do, but *papas*. He was an acute and observing man, acquainted somewhat with mathematics, metallurgy, and other branches of natural knowledge; and he is uniformly careful to describe and delineate some of the more conspicuous and distinguished plants.

1717. In the January number of the Journal de Trevoux, for this year, is contained the memoir of the Jesuit Missionary, Joseph Francis Lafitau, on the ginseng of Canada. It appeared in a separate form at Paris, in 1718. In this traveller's book, entitled *Mœurs des Sauvages, compares aux Mœurs des Premiers Tems*, Paris, 1724, 2 vols. 4to, he makes many remarks on the food of the American indigenes; and as he discusses the articles of maize, manioc, and some other productions at full length, the part of the second volume, which treats of them, may be consulted by the economical and botanical reader.

1719. M. De Quelus, now published at Paris his History of cacao and sugar, derived from a fifteen years' residence in the West Indies. He describes the flower and fruit of the cacao better than Tournefort. He writes like a man of discernment; and adds observations on copaiba, banana, manioc, and other plants.

1720. M. Bachelier, a French surgeon, published, at Paris, in 12mo. a Voyage from Marseilles to

Lima. It is mentioned as a performance remarkable for its botanical errors.

1720. George Crump, an American, published at Leyden, a dissertation *de Arundine Americana, ejusque usu.* It is a tract on the preparation of sugar.

In the London Philos. Trans. No. 364, there is a Treatise, by Paul Dudley, on the manufacture of maple sugar. In No. 367, an Essay on the poison tree of Carolina, injuring both by contact and odour. And in No. 385, is contained Henry Cane's Tract on the summer fruits of New England.

1721. The Dominican Friar, John Baptist Labat, came out with his voyage to the Antilles, in six French volumes, at Paris; and afterward in eight volumes. He was a busy member of his order, both in Europe and America. A wary and active man; not much acquainted with natural history, but industrious enough to transcribe. Amidst a crowd of other things, more immediately connected with his mission and function, some botanical information occurs: he copies from Du Tertre; yet gives an account of the sugar cane, and of the principal trees that are of importance in diet, medicine, and trade, as observed by himself. As he had visited almost all the Caribbee islands, it may be fairly supposed that his description of annatto, coffee, ginger, and some other vegetable productions, are worthy of credit.

1728. Appeared at Paris, M. Laval's Journal of a Voyage to Louisiana, in 4to. It contains a few botanical notices, as of the efficacy of an extract of simarouba against hemorrhage, and of the copal-balsam distilling from a tree growing on Dauphin Island, in the Mississippi, with some other matters indistinctly told.

1730. This year that worthy and intelligent Englishman, John Cowel, in his curious and practical

Gardener, printed at London, in 8vo, gave considerable information on the culture of plants from America. He appears to have been materially aided by the collection of beautiful plants brought by John Clarke, from Madeira and Virginia. These, with their histories, Clarke seems to have given to Cowell, and to have published nothing himself.

1730. Sebastian de Rocha Pitta, published at Lisbon a history of Portuguese America, in folio. It contains some notices of manioc, tobacco, rice, the sensitive plant, vanilla, ginger, cacao, and some others.

1730. A physician of Quebec, Michael Sarrazin, published in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, for this year, his essay on procuring sugar from the maple. He observes, that the best time for collecting the juice is, when the roots are so covered with snow as to freeze during the night, and to thaw during the day; an observation which modern experience confirms. The meadow cup, or side-saddle flower, seems to have been named Sarracenia, in honour of him.

1730. In the Journal de Trevoux, for this year, are contained several pieces of intelligence concerning American botany. Criticisms on the vegetables described by Labat, and on analagous subjects may be seen in the numbers for February, March, and June. It is stated that coffee was first cultivated in Saint Domingo, by Mr. De Pomesnil in 1715.

1731. Mark Catesby's splendid work, the Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands, now made its appearance, at London, in superb folio. The first volume came out this year; but the second was not published until 1743. It is composed both in French and English. It contains two hundred figures, highly useful to the lovers of Botany. The representations of the vegetable species are charmingly introduced, and

give the work a rich embellishment. The copies are grown very scarce, and now sell for a high price.

1730. Francis Xavier Charlevoix, a jesuit missionary, published this year in Paris, a history of the Island of Hispaniola, *Historia Insulæ Hispaniolæ*, in which he writes upon tobacco, cacao, and other vegetable productions of the place. But his greater work, *Histoire et Description Generale de la Nouvelle France*, was completed and laid before the reading world in 3 vols. 4to, during 1744. He resided long in Canada, and performed the great journey from Quebec to New Orleans. Though he treats of most matters like a civil historian, he does not omit natural objects. The second volume contains his description of plants (des plantes principales de l'Amerique septentrionale) with figures and explanations. He may be considered as having taken largely from Cornutus.

1732. P. Le Breton's alphabetical catalogue of the more noted plants, especially of American trees, was begun this year, and continued during 1733, in the Journal of Treves. The descriptions are not merely good, but botanical. The performance is indeed so valuable, that a good judge of such matters has considered it a pity that it was so nearly forgotten and unknown. The republication of it may, therefore, be deemed a welcome offering to every American that loves botanical science.

1736. I bring to your recollection in this place, a German work published in many detached numbers at Hallen, under the name of Samuel Urlsperger, but the true author of which was an ecclesiastic, named John Martin Bolzius. It is entitled *ample directions for the colony of Saltzburg emigrants in America.* The writer was a sensible and benevolent man. He had collected a great

body of information relative to America; and though not a botanist, his extensive work is replete with the knowledge of American vegetables, more especially those useful to man. It was continued from time to time until 1749; and the numbers were afterward collected into two volumes. The economical inquirer will wonder that an author in the centre of Germany could write such minute and correct accounts of rice, tobacco, mulberries, potatoes, maize, grape vines, and almost every other article of American culture. It is pleasing to notice a performance so well done, and so nearly connected with emigration to this country from those parts of Europe.

1739. This year John Brickwell published at Dublin, in 8vo, a natural history of North Carolina, in which he touches upon the trees and fruits. To the same person is ascribed, a Catalogue of American trees and shrubs, which will endure the climate of England, published in 4to at London, 1739, with plates.

1741. Peter Barrere, who for some time acted as a physician at Cayenne, published in Paris, 12mo, an essay on the natural history of equinoctial France. It is principally a catalogue of the plants he gathered upon that island of Guiana; and contains a considerable number of new articles. A second volume appeared in 1743, which contains a full proportion of economical and dietetic botany.

About this time David Nicholson's dissertation on the scurvy grass of Greenland (Cochlearia Grænlandica) was inserted in the London philosophical transactions.

1742. Was printed an epistle from John Tennent, M. D. to Richard Mead, on the efficacy of the Seneca snakeroot, Edinburgh, 8vo. He says that the bite of the rattle snake produces a coagulum

of the blood, and that the seneca snakeroot dissolves that coagulum, and cures the disease caused by the poison. He next observes, that the same plant had been found efficacious in the winter epidemic peripneumonies of North America, as had also the administration of alkaline remedies. He concludes that the operation of both was owing to their power of attenuating the inspissated fluids. From an analogy, therefore, between the condition of the humours in peripneumony, and that induced by the bite of a venomous serpent, it is concluded that the medicine good for the latter must be good for the former. He, oddly enough, affirms that this Virginian plant of the polygala family, is inferior in virtue to the individuals of the same species produced in China.

1745. Joseph Gumilla printed at Madrid, in two quarto Spanish volumes, the Orinoko illustrated and defended; or the natural, civil and geographical history of that grand river. The author had been a missionary sent to convert the natives to Christianity. He knows but little of botany; yet in his second volume, against the grain, as it were, he makes mention of several rarer plants.

1745. A work is noted as having been published in London, under the title of the Natural History of Nevis, and the English Caribbean Islands. But I know not what it contains, nor who was the author.

1745. Now also came forth Charles Maria De la Condamine's relation of a journey made into the interior of South America, from the South Sea to Guiana, &c. Paris, 8vo. Beside the mathematical and geographical matter with which this book abounds, there are constantly mingled articles of a botanical character; as, for instance, the elastic gum caoutchuc, palm oil, poison made from climbing plants for tinging arrows, and so forth.

1746. I may mention here the German work of Johan Anderson of Hamburg, concerning Iceland, Greenland, and Davis's Straits, in 8vo. He has very little on botany; what he has relates principally to the scurvy grass, and alga saccharifera of Iceland.

1747. I have a copy of James Logan's *Experimenta et Meletemata circa generationem plantarum.* They were printed at London, in Latin and English. He was a Pennsylvanian, and a chief justice. He relates experiments made on Indian corn to prove the prolific nature of the staminal dust. He quotes Dr. Grew as ascribing to Sir Thomas Millington the original idea, as long ago as 1676, that plants have sexes. It is not a little remarkable that this small tract is more likely to perpetuate the author's fame than all the judicial acts of his life.

1748. For about seven years preceding this date, and up to this time, botany was diligently cultivated in Virginia by John Mitchell, M. D. He collected seeds and plants, and forwarded them to eminent men in Europe. His labours were so valued, that Linnæus named, to his honour, the American plant that bears two flowers on a double-blossoming germen, with the appellation of Mitchella repens. He published a memoir on the preparation and use of potash in the transactions of the London Royal Society, No. 489. In the 8th volume of the *Acta Naturæ Curiosorum*, there is a paper of his containing thirty new genera of plants discovered in Virginia. He has some preliminary observations on the principles of botany; and he contends, that plants which mutually fecundate each other have a natural affinity. There was a separate edition of Mitchell's new genera at Nuremberg in 1769.

1748. An American plant, the solanum tuberosum, or round potatoe, was found by that distinguished Lady, Eve, Countess De La Gardie, to afford spirit, starch, and, by an admixture of oat meal, good bread. See the Swedish Trans. vol. 9. &c.

1748. The two Ulloas gave to the public eye at Madrid, in the Spanish tongue, their historical relation of a Voyage to South America, in 4 vols. quarto. It is a highly philosophical and scientific work, abounding with facts and researches into nature. The information it contains concerning the vegetable kingdom is small, considering the opportunities the authors enjoyed of becoming acquainted with plants. But they had other objects more immediately in view. They nevertheless have noticed some of the vegetables growing near Carthagena, such as the banana, and the balsam of Tolu. They have done the like of some of the trees and fruits of Peru. Of the Peruvian bark found at Loxa, and even near Cuenca, the opinion of the natives is that the Europeans procure it as a material for dyeing, they, the natives, being quite ignorant of its medicinal virtues. These authors make judicious remarks on cochineal, confirming its animal nature. And they offer some remarks on the vegetables they observed in the deserts of Paranos.

1749. The book entitled the Figure of the Earth determined, by Messrs. Bouguer and Condamine, came forth this year at Paris in quarto. It contains a few, and but few botanical notices. The esculent fruits of Quito, some information about Peruvian bark, and the utility of the ferula arborescens, a tree of whose timber ships may be built, are the chief matters of this class.

1751. John Bartram, who was born in Pennsylvania in 1701, was an indefatigable and excellent

self-taught botanist. He established a garden at Kingsess, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, for the reception and culture of plants generally, but more especially for rearing the indigenous productions of the regions extending from Florida to Canada. He made great progress in discovering beautiful, new, and useful plants, and in placing them in his ground, where they were multiplied, and beheld by his visiters. He became thereby known to the scientific gentlemen of the time, in his own country, and shortly after to the lovers of natural history in foreign parts. He made large contributions of American plants to the botanic gardens and collections of Europe; and may justly be considered one of the most distinguished persons who enriched the eastern world with the vegetables of the west.

For his ardour and proficiency he was rewarded, through the intercession of powerful friends at St. James's, with the employment of royal botanist for the American plantations; and was permitted to retain it as long as he lived. He was the only man among us whom the British sovereign, or his predecessors, ever engaged in such a service. In 1765 and 1766, Bartram made, at the public expense, a journey to the source of the river St. John. He describes, under their popular names, the trees and shrubs of that part of Florida, among which were some unknown or unobserved until then. He prepared a catalogue of the plants which he supposed capable of cultivation to the southward of the 31st degree of north latitude. The scientific names are annexed by a skilful hand.

1750. An English clergyman, Griffith Hughes, now published at London, in folio, his natural history of Barbadoes. It contains figures done by the distinguished engraver Ehret. Five books of the work are occupied by the plants of the island, whereof the trees exceed the others in number.

There is a considerable amount of matter not useful to the botanist. But the medical and venomous properties of the vegetables are indicated. And beside the upland plants, this diligent observer enumerates those growing in the sea.

1751. A book by John Bartram appeared in London, in 8vo, under the title of Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Divers Productions, Animals, &c. made in his travels from Pennsylvania to Onondaga, Oswego, and Lake Ontario. The excursion seems to have been made in 1743, and probably assisted him in obtaining the royal favour. The botanical information it contains, goes not far beyond the plants and trees of spontaneous growth along the line of his march.

1751. The adventurous spirit and untimely fate of Peter Lœfling, entitle him to a respectful notice in this discourse. He was a Swede, and after having visited Spain, crossed the Atlantic in quest of botanical discoveries. He fell a martyr to his intrepidity on the banks of the Oronoko, in 1756. His papers, saved from destruction after his death, contain many articles interesting to the lover of the science. It is pleasing to perpetuate the memory of such a man.

1752. Hither may be referred the commencement of Alexander Garden's labours to improve botany and other branches of natural history in South Carolina. He collected abundance of plants; many of which he described. He communicated his observations to Gronovius, Collinson, Linnæus, Ellis, Fothergill, and other seekers of American intelligence of this kind in Europe. I consider him one of the most valuable labourers in promoting the natural history of these eastern parts of North America. Beside the improvements he made, and enabled others to make in botany, he has rendered excellent service on the insects, fishes and

amphibious creatures of the region in which he dwelt. In 1754, this gentleman wrote the botanical character of a plant which he found that summer about a mile from the city of New York. He at first took it to be an hypericum; but afterward changed his opinion. The account of it may be seen in the Physical and Literary Essays of a society in Edinburgh. He declares it to be a polyadelphous plant; and that it has but nine stamens.—It is doubtless an hypericum.

1752. Letters on the plants of Saint Domingo, by M. Chevalier, a physician of Paris, made their appearance in 8vo. The vegetables observed by Andrew Minguet, in 1713, are arranged into a catalogue; and additions are made from Labat. The descriptions are pretty good; and the medicinal qualities not copied from any preceding writer. The performance is worthy of being looked at by him who can get it.

1753. In two volumes octavo came forth at Paris M. Du Mont's historical memoirs of Louisiana. He was a military man who had lived for twenty-five years in the Mississippi country. He describes the rice, grapes, potatoes, reeds, maize, tobacco, long moss, and a number of the native trees and plants, like a man of curiosity without science, and who figures ill the species he describes.

1753. Henry Nicholas Herbert went to America, and on his return published at Marpurg, in a Latin quarto, a dissertation on the root of the bitter cassava of Surinam. He makes two sorts of manioc; one with an innocuous, and the other with a poisonous root. How just this distinction is, eye-witnesses must decide.

1754. John Lining's description of the Carolinian pink, and of its anthelmintic virtue, may be seen among the Observations, vol. 2. of the Edinburgh Physical and Literary Society, before mentioned.

1755. This year was rendered memorable, among other events, by the appearance of the first fasciculus of American plants, published in Holland, by John Burman. He was a doctor of physic, and a professor of botany in the botanical garden near Amsterdam. The work came out in ten successive numbers, with engravings to illustrate the descriptions. He was, however, only the editor; as the drawings were all finished by Plumier, during his residence in the Antilles. Burman added to them short descriptions and observations. The work amounts to two large folios. Plumier had died of a pleurisy in 1704, at the age of sixty, as he was about to sail from Cadiz on his fourth voyage to America, with the particular design of investigating the history of the cinchona family of plants. After lying many years dormant, these drawings were sold at auction, and bought by Burman. The collection had previously been examined both by Boerhaave and Linnæus. The last fasciculus was published in 1760. The whole work contains two hundred and sixty-two copper plates; and many of them several plants each.

1755. I come now to Cadwallader Colden, a gentleman well known to the historian of New York, and to the gentlemen who now hear me, for the active part he took in the provincial administration. He sent to Sweden, for his correspondent, the distinguished professor at Upsal, a collection of the plants growing in Ulster county, and accompanied the herbarium with descriptions. The great author of the sexual system caused the descriptions to be printed, and in his several publications referred to them as authorities. A performance evincing such industry and skill, justly places its author among the botanical worthies of North America. Colden's catalogue may be seen in the Upsal Transactions for 1743. It contains

descriptions of one hundred and forty-one plants. In the volume for 1750, there is a continuation, wherein the number is increased to two hundred and fifty-seven. He has been honoured by a genus.

1755. There are so few things illustrative of Natural History in J. Palairet's concise description of the English and French possessions in North America, which was printed in 8vo. both in French and English at this time, that it is scarcely worthy of insertion in this list.

1755. The pieces of information on the botanical branch of natural history contained in William Douglas's summary of the present state of the British settlements in North America, 2 vols. 8vo. Boston, render the publication proper to be noticed here. The remarks he makes on plants with compound and apetalous blossoms, on pine trees, on indian corn, and on several plants introduced from Europe, render the work not unworthy of being registered here.

1755. The second volume of the Memoirs of the Physical and Mathematical Department of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, has been quoted for an essay by Mr. Gautier on the preparation of maple sugar in Canada.

1756. Another able writer upon the productions of Jamaica, is Patrick Browne. He employed uncommon pains and industry in exploring the natural history of the island. He reduced every thing to as methodical a form as he could; he added figures of the plants discovered by himself; and caused his plates to be engraved by the accurate Ehret. This folio bears witness how worthily he employed himself. The title of his book is, The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica—of its natural productions, fossils, vegetables, and animals. London, 1756, fol.

1756. At Upsal, this year, in vol. 4, Amæn. Acad. p. 507, came forth John Van Coelln's dissertation, entitled *Specifica Canadensium.* It is a collection of information from Bartram, Colden, Kalm, and Sir William Johnson, on the specific virtues ascribed to certain American plants in curing diseases. He quotes an appendix, of a single half sheet, to Bartram's catalogue before mentioned. He mentions the power of the eupatorium to cure intermittents. He tells how the anti-syphilitic qualities of the lobelia were disclosed by the squaws of the Iroquois, (their practising physicians) to Johnson; with many other curious particulars, worthy of being drawn from their retirement.

1757. Some botanical information may be gathered from the history of California, natural and civil, published in Spanish, at Madrid, by Miguel Venegas, in 3 vols. 4to. The work chiefly treats of the religious missions. The author was a jesuit. Yet there are several matters worthy of a botanist's notice; such as the chapter on the culture of the vine by the brethren; the discovery of true manna there; and several other things.

1758. The history of the European settlements in America, now came forth at London, in 2 vols. 8vo. and is mentioned as taking some notice of useful vegetables, among the political and commercial affairs of which it treats.

1758. George Edwards' Gleanings of natural history, an elegant work, in several quarto volumes, was published between 1758 and 1764. It is worthy of a place along with those of Merian and Catesby. Though it treats superbly of animals, more especially of birds, it nevertheless contains some supremely beautiful figures of plants.

1758. A tract, called the culture of silk for the use of the American colonies, was published this

year at London, in 8vo. by a clergyman, named Samuel Pulleyn. He recommends planting the black mulberry with the white for the food of the worms.

1758. A Danish account of the Island Saint Croix in the West Indies, was published at Copenhagen, in 4to. It treats of sugar and cotton.

1759. Le Page Du Pratz, a planter near the Mississippi, published, in 3 vols. 12mo. at Paris, his History of Louisiana, containing a description of the country, a journey through it, the natural history, manners and religion of the people; and two voyages to the northward of New Mexico. The work contains considerable information about the vegetable productions of Louisiana. He was neither a good botanist nor draughtsman; but was an admirer of the science.

1762. At Leyden, this year, John Frederick Gronovius published a work, entitled, Flora Virginica, in quarto. It contains the description and classification of the plants which the diligent and excellent John Clayton, M. D. had gathered in Virginia, and forwarded to the Dutch professor. This edition seems to have been prepared by the assistance of his son Laurence Theodosius Gronovius, when the father was well advanced in life. In the dedication to Clayton, the loss of many parcels of plants taken and destroyed by the enemy during the war which was waged between Great Britain and France, for about eight years prior to the publication, is deeply lamented. The vegetables are arranged according to the sexual system. A map of Virginia is prefixed; and a complete index is subjoined.

The book is a moderate work of one hundred and seventy-six pages; and is a most valuable record of the industry of him who collected, and of him who described the plants.

A former edition is quoted by Linnæus, as having been published in 1739, in two volumes 8vo.

1763. The French planter Thibaut de Chanvallon, published at Paris, in 4to, his voyage to Martinique, containing various observations on natural history and agriculture. It contains some little information for a botanist.

1763. M. Bellin, the French geographer, now issued at Paris, a quarto volume, called a Geographical Description of Guiana. It seems intended as an eulogy upon that colony. The plants are mentioned, but in an incorrect and faulty manner.

1763. Austria now receives my acknowledgment for patronizing and promoting American botany. The present year was distinguished by the appearance of a large folio volume at Vienna, on the vegetable productions of the western hemisphere. This was the *Selectarum Stirpium Americanarum Historia* of Nicholas Joseph Jacquin. This great performance comprehends the enumeration, description, and delineation of the more rare plants of Martinique, Jamaica, Saint Domingo, the neighbouring isles, and the parts of the continent in that vicinity. They are disposed after the Linnæan system, and drawn from the life. The dedication to Francis I, extols that prince for his love of natural science, and especially of botany.

It appears that the voyage of the author to the West Indies was undertaken by the direction and at the expense of the emperor; and that the greater part of the plants described by this botanist, had been made to grow in the Austrian soil of his magnificent garden.

Jacquin admires, in impressive strains, the singularity, the beauty, and the diversity of the American plants; and commends them as worthy

of the most sedulous attention. Great numbers still remain to be examined, even after so many vigilant eyes have surveyed the districts where they dwell. This is more particularly the case, as he has intentionally omitted altogether the gramineous and cryptogamous tribes. He was engaged for four years in these Caribbæan investigations. The figures were executed by his own hand. The engravings, done under his own eyes, amount to upward of one hundred and eighty. They may be justly ranked among the best delineations that have ever been made; and the book is at once a fair specimen of the author's science, and of his sovereign's munificence.

1765. In David Crantz's History of Greenland, which appeared at Barby, 1765, in German, 8vo, the worthy Moravian missionary has inserted an extensive catalogue of the indigenous vegetables. The ungrateful soil produces scarcely any trees, and but few pot herbs. In another work, which he also printed at Barby, in 1770, there are many observations relative to the botany of the Greenland division of America.

1767. At Yverdun, in Berne, was published in French, the Voyage of a Philosopher, or observations on the manners and arts of the people of America, Asia, and Africa, in 12mo, by Peter Poivre, dominican intendant of the island of Bourbon, a great promoter of natural history. The American is reported to be the smallest part of it.

1768. In 12mo, at Paris was published in French, without an author's name, the natural and political history of Pennsylvania. He has taken largely from Bishop Kalm, but the vegetable part is wofully disfigured.

1769. John Ellis deserves to be mentioned here, on account of his letter to Linnæus, describing and figuring the Carolinian plant dionæa muscipula, or

the vegetable flytrap. The publication is handsomely executed; and I possess a German edition of it.

1769. Came forth Edward Bancroft's natural history of Guiana, London, 8vo. This is not distinctly a botanical work, yet the author attempts a description of the indigenous vegetables collected and brought in by the negroes; and writes considerably about them.

1769. Various observations on the articles of tobacco, rice, turpentine, and tar, are contained in the work called the American Traveller, or observations on the present state, culture, and commerce; a tract printed anonymously at London in 4to.

1769. At the same place, and of a like size, was William Stork's description of East Florida, third edition. Stork had visited Florida. He commends its fertility, fine fruits, and stately trees, and he enumerates many of the native plants.

1770. Mons. Pouppè des Portes now published in French, at Paris, his three duodecimal volumes, on the diseases of Saint Domingo. He had resided in the island for sixteen years as a physician. Beside various notices of the vegetables in the colony through the first and second volumes, the principal matter of the third is botanical. For example, it contains a catalogue, and by no means a lean one, of the medicinal plants, with the French, and sometimes the Latin names annexed; with an American pharmacopœia, formed mostly from American plants. He gives, likewise, a list of the Saint Domingo plants at large, comprehending those good for physic, dyeing, and timber; with remarks on Peruvian bark, sugar, and others.

1770. The travels of Peter Kalm, into North America, during 1748, 1749, 1750, and 1751, were translated from Swedish into English, by John Rein-

hold Forster, and printed in England, in 3 vols. 8vo. Under the administration of Count Tessin, the Swedish government determined to send a botanical missionary to North America.- The man selected was the professor of economics in the university of Abo in Swedish Finland; and his expenses were defrayed by the Swedish universities. He was accompanied by his countryman, Lars Yungstræm. Many facts respecting the vegetable productions of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Canada, are contained in the work. He was one of the great improvers of our botany, and indeed of our natural history generally. While he resided in America, he employed himself not only in sending letters, but in forwarding packages, and as his translator says, cargoes of seeds, plants and curiosities, to his constituents in Sweden. Thus, the government and universities of that kingdom deserve the credit of having procured a very able and circumstantial, as well as scientific and instructive report, on the plants, animals, and other matters, appertaining to these parts of North America. Kalm, on his return, was doubly honoured for his services; for the king promoted him to a Lutheran bishoprick, and Linnæus gave to one of the most elegant of our evergreen shrubs, the name of Kalmia. Let us continue to honour the man whom science and the church have thus eminently distinguished!

1771. The correct and well written German work of John Philip Du Roi, was now printed at Brunswick, in two vols. 8vo. The discerning and industrious author describes, at full length, the trees, shrubs, and hardy flowers, growing at Harbkè, near Magdeburg. It is denominated the Harbkè wild garden, partly of North American and other exotics, and partly of indigenous trees, bushes, and ornamental shrubs; with their charac-

ter, cultivation, description, and use, illustrated by engravings. It contains a good list of botanical books and authorities. It also comprehends an alphabetical catalogue of the genera and species which he describes; and a systematic arrangement of the same, according to the Linnæan classes and orders. Frederick Albert, prince of Anhalt, and some others, were complimented with the dedication. This performance is less known than it deserves to be. It is, perhaps, owing to its never having been translated, at least, as far as I know, into the English language. Du Roi quotes a manuscript catalogue of trees and shrubs by John Bartram, before mentioned.

1776. I might, without wandering very far from my subject, offer for your consideration, the botanical discoveries of John R. Forster, and his son George, during a voyage round the globe. They left England in 1772, and performed their circuit by sailing from west to east, contrary to the course pursued by the nineteen navigators who had preceded them; all of whom had proceeded from east to west. At the Cape of Good Hope they were joined by Andrew Sparrman, who accompanied them during the remainder of the circumnavigation. In the division of the labour to be performed by these naturalists, Forster, the father, undertook the zoological department, while the botanical fell to the other two; Sparrman describing, and Forster, the son, delineating the plants they found. The whole was afterward revised and methodized by the elder Forster, with the aid and counsel of the younger, as he wished it.

They adopt the Linnæan system in their *Characteres generum plantarum, quas in itinere ad insulas maris australis, &c.* The descriptions are accompanied by figures, and they fill a quarto volume. The work is inscribed to King George III. the

patron, as they style him, not merely of natural history, astronomy, navigation and geography; but in an especial manner, of painting, carving, statuary, moulding, architecture, and drawing.

Herein they have laid before their generous sovereign and the world, seventy-five new genera, comprehending ninety-five new species; and in addition thereto, about one hundred and seventy species, appertaining to the genera already extant.

Of these America furnishes but a small number. For Terra del Fuego, the only part of the western hemisphere they visited, a region of sterility and cold, afforded only a few dwarfish vegetables, scarcely supporting life amidst the snow-covered rocks.

1781. Appeared in a small quarto volume, the *Reliquiæ Houstounianæ*, or figures of the South American plants, collected by William Houstoun, and engraved by his own hand. This work, which contains twenty-six plates and descriptions, was published from the original in the library of Sir Joseph Banks. It is a precious morsel to the botanical epicure. Haller, in his Bibliotheca Botanica, mentions (tom. 2. p. 242.) a manuscript catalogue, left by Houstoun, of the plants he gathered in Jamaica, Cuba, Venezuela, and Campeachy, during the years 1728, 1729, and 1732.

1785. The Arbustrum Americanum, or American Grove, was published in a small octavo, at Philadelphia, by Humphrey Marshall, soon after the conclusion of the revolutionary war. It treats of the indigenous trees and shrubs of the United States. They are alphabetically disposed, and arranged according to the sexual system. Their species, varieties, manner of growth, and useful qualities, are likewise noted in this descriptive and me-

thodical catalogue. It is dedicated to the members of the Philosophical Society.

Though many additions and alterations have been made in this department of botany, since the publication of the present book, it deserves to be mentioned with particular respect, as being the best manual of the kind, extant in our language, at the time it was printed: even yet it is a valuable compilation, and every American botanist ought to possess and consult it.

1786. The *Materia Medica Americana*, of Dr. Schöepf, is a tract worthy to be examined by the naturalists of our country. I remember him. He travelled through many of the United States and the Bahama Islands, immediately after the revolutionary war. On his return to Anspach, he published his Travels in German, and the before-mentioned work in Latin: both are valuable, and the former is an instructive enumeration of the natural productions which America furnishes as remedies against diseases.

1787. Frederic William II. king of Prussia, received the dedication of a large folio volume, in German, by Frederic Adam Julius Von Wangenheim. This ample work was printed at Gottingen, and embellished with numerous, large, and distinct figures of the plants described. The object of this laboured and extensive work seems to have been the improvement of the forests and gardens of Prussia, by transplanting into them the trees and shrubs of North America. Under this impression, Wangenheim considers his subject in four points of view; 1st. such timber trees growing in North-America, between the thirty-ninth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, as may be propagated in Germany, with improvement of the forests, and with advantage to all persons concerned therein; 2d. such trees and shrubs, growing in North America, be-

tween thirty-nine and forty-five degrees, as may, perhaps, be profitable for the German estates, but on which further trials ought to be made before a correct judgment can be formed; 3d. such North American trees and flowering shrubs, growing between the thirty-ninth and forty-second degrees of latitude, as will bear transplanting, and grow in the open air in Germany, and are at the same time worthy of cultivation there for taste and ornament; 4th. such as, though growing between the thirty-ninth and forty-fifth, are not of importance enough to be transplanted from North America to Germany, as articles of substantial profit or improvement.

The number of species that he describes, amounts to nearly one hundred and seventy, and the engraved figures to seventy-two.

All the plants are arranged according to the sexual system. The pains bestowed upon them evinces, in the strongest manner, the interest which the richness of our forests excited in the author and his royal patron. It is a pity this work is not extant in our language, on account of the fund of instruction it contains. The American botanist may consult it with edification, when he seeks an intimate and extensive acquaintance with the leafy occupants of our soil. He was attached to the Anspach troops of the enemy during the revolutionary war.

1787. From the banks of the Santee river, about the end of this year, the South Carolina planter, Thomas Walther, addressed to William Pitcairn, M. D. his Flora Caroliniana, and caused it to be printed the following year in London. It contains sketches of more than a thousand plants. Old descriptions are amended; some new genera are inserted, and many novel species are introduced. He declares he has examined the plants, which he has mentioned in his book, often enough to be sa-

tisfied of their character. He saw them at different ages, and under various circumstances; and with the intention of being right in every particular, a great part of them, were long cultivated in his garden.

Mr. Walther's modesty is such, that he sometimes places a note of interrogation where he entertains doubts. And even when he is sure there is a propriety of forming a new genus, he gives the character both generic and specific, but leaves the name of the former to be affixed by the masters and leaders in botany.

These numerous species were gathered from a district of not more than fifty miles round, reckoning from the place of his residence. Notwithstanding their great amount, the gramina and cryptogamia, as well as many trees, shrubs, and other plants, are omitted, which, on account of their difficulty, or the want of opportunity, he had not been able to investigate.

The work consists of two parts; first, the arrangement and description of the genera according to the Linnæan classes and orders: and, second, the enumeration and disposition of the species, under their respective genera, with the proper marks of discrimination. Of a performance so respectable to the country, and so honorable to its author, I cannot withhold a full measure of approbation.

1788. Olof Swartz, published at Stockholm, Upsal, and Abo, his *Nova Genera et species plantarum*. It was intended as a forerunner of the vegetable species, chiefly unknown, that he had digested and matured during his journey through the West Indies, between 1783 and 1787. It is a small octavo in Latin, running not much beyond one hundred and fifty pages. He went deliberately through the Antilles, and visited with a curious eye Jamaica, Cuba, and Hispaniola. The latter

more particularly prompted his inquiry; and St. Domingo has furnished many materials for his pages. He sketches herein the characters of sixty-one new genera, and in addition to such a body of novel information, he has enriched many old families of plants, throughout the various classes, with species not before noted, to a large amount.

This intrepid and indefatigable botanist, found it expedient to imitate Thunberg, in the alterations he proposed to the classes established by Linnæus. The classes of monœcia, dicœcia, and polygamia are reduced; and the plants belonging to them distributed through the other remaining classes. The reason Swartz gives for this alteration, is twofold; first, that in the warmer climates, the greater number of trees are polygamous; and, second, that many plants, commonly considered as hermaphrodites, do nevertheless frequently bear flowers, that are separately male and female. Hence he concludes, not merely that those three classes might be expunged, but that it became a matter of botanical duty to obliterate them.

The reason wherefore Swartz retained the gynandria, and permitted it to stand, was derived from the natural character of the orchideæ, an assemblage of plants as distinct as the didynamia, tetradynamia, and monadelphia.

American botany owes much to the diligence and perspicacity of this Swedish traveller.

1788. Three quarto volumes were now published in England, by James Bolton, on an order of cryptogamous vegetables of Nova Scotia. The author has confined himself to the fungi, and particularly to those growing around Halifax. This collection of information on one of the most humble and neglected parts of botany, is dedicated to the Earl of Gainsborough, who is commended as a generous promoter of science. It is remarkable that

Mr. B. should have found, within the compass of eight or ten miles, *a garics* enough to fill a volume; to wit, fifty-one species of this genus, which occupy forty-four copper plates.

In the second volume, this unwearied hunter of the fungus tribe, proceeds with the genus agaric, until he describes thirty-five species more; making, in the whole, eighty-six species of this very prolific family. Descriptions and figures of the genera of boletus, hydnum, and phallus, make up the residue of the tome.

In the third of these quartos, are contained the remaining genera of clathrus, helvella, peziza, clavaria, lycoperdon, sphæria, and mucor, with all the species that he could discover.

There is an appendix subjoined, which comprehends all the additional species which he had found since the commencement of the publication. This appeared in 1791, and may be said to make a fourth volume. So that this publication, on the mere fungi of Halifax only, extends to four quartos; containing one hundred and eighty-two copper plates, and two hundred and thirty-one species. Their various exhibitions and displays amount nearly to nine hundred different figures.

Bolton's work being a recital of facts, the result of more than twenty years observation, is very instructive upon this particular branch of botany; especially when it is remembered that the author has taken pains to make his reader understand the principles of classification and system, as applied to these numerous, though obscure members of the vegetable creation. The person who desires instruction upon this department of the science, may study the present work, as it may be truly considered an excellent elementary treatise.

1788. At Manheim, a cheap and handy edition appeared of Jacquin's History of the select Ameri-

can plants, before mentioned. The scarcity and dearness of the original copies, put them out of the reach of the greater part of botanical readers. Whereupon, at the request of his friend Frederic Casimir, the author consented to the edition now under consideration, and with his own hand prepared corrections for it. The engravings are wholly omitted; it being conceived that the text was sufficiently explicit for the purposes of scientific men without them.

1791. This year Swartz published his *Observationes Botanicæ*, explanatory of the plants of the West Indies, and others, in 8vo, with plates; and dedicated it to Professor Schreber of Erlangen.

1792. A sensible memoir in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, on the botanical character of the podophyllum diphyllum of North America, is worthy of being mentioned here. The discerning author has established a new genus, and complimented an admired friend with the name. In this he has been followed by the botanical critics.

1794. At Kingston, in Jamaica, was published a moderate octavo book, by A. Aikman, Esq. It is called *Hortus Americanus*; and is said to have been written by Dr. Henry Barham. It is a posthumous work, purporting to contain an account of the trees, shrubs, and other vegetable productions of South America and the West India islands; and particularly of Jamaica. Though this publication was made at so late a day, the author appears to have been a cotemporary with Sloane; and to have furnished him with many materials for his great work, already noticed. Although the articles are in many respects incomplete and unfinished; they, notwithstanding, contain good and substantial information; and the Linnæan index which

now accompanies them is an excellent addition for the botanical reader, and man of science.

1797. Swartz, the Swede, had promised in his prodromus already mentioned, something further on the plants of the West Indies. This year, the first volume of his Flora Indiæ Occidentalis was printed at Erlangen in a moderate octavo form. It pursues the course marked in the prodromus, with additions and illustrations. He has adorned it with figures. The first part of his second volume appeared in 1798. The second part came forth in 1800. This goes no further than the class of Monadelphia, and I have not seen any more of it. He persists in discontinuing the three classes, which, in the beginning, he had expunged as unnecessary.

1797. This year Martin Vahl published at Copenhagen, the first fasciculus of his Eclogæ Americanæ, in folio, with figures. The work professes to contain descriptions of plants not before known, particularly those of South America. It is inscribed to John Ryan, an ardent cultivator of natural history. Availing himself of the labours of Von Rohr, Tonder Lund, Ryan, Pifug, West, and some other collectors, the author has attempted to enlarge the province of botany, and to add many genera and species which former observers had overlooked.

Vahl extols, in the strongest terms, the elegance of American plants, as surpassing those of the other quarters of the globe. The form of the trees, he says, is more exquisite, as is manifest from an inspection of a branch as well as of the whole tree and herb, and striking the botanist with a singular and unexpected structure of the parts, and peculiar lustre and air of novelty, not observable in the vegetable productions of any other great division of the globe. An American reads with

pride that the western hemisphere excels either Africa, Asia, or Europe, by a memorable difference also in the number of its plants. Therefore it is, that new discoveries in botany are more expected from America than from any other region or country: the more the soil is explored, the richer is the harvest it affords to the man of science.

In 1798, a second fasciculus appeared: they are justly ranked among the standard works, being the authorities on which the systematic compilers rest.

1798. Thomas Horsfield published, at Philadelphia, his Experimental Dissertation on the three species of rhus, commonly called poison ash, poison vine, and common sumach.

1798. At Copenhagen and Leipsic was now published, the *Descriptiones Plantarum quarundam Surinamensium*, of Christian F. Rottböll. To these are added his observations on the medical and economical virtues of the Surinam vegetables. The work is a thin folio, illustrated by figures. The plants described are about a dozen in number, as they were found by the editor in the dry herbarium of Mr. Rolander. Rottböll has done the best he could to give them a fair exhibition. The remarks on the qualities and uses of the plants were made by Rolander himself, and have been merely retouched and methodized by Rottböll.

I wish it was in my power to state the particulars of the great exertions for the improvement of American botany made by the kings of Spain. There is not, perhaps, a government upon earth that has expended so much money, for the advancement of this branch of natural history, as that of the Castilian monarchs. The reign of Charles IV. has, in an eminent degree, been distinguished for its promotion of the physical sciences. The sums expended in the expeditions of Signr. Ruiz and Pavon to Peru,

and of Messrs. Sesse and Mocino to New Spain, and of Don Mutis to New Granada, are stated, on the most respectable authority, to have amounted to three hundred and seventy thousand dollars! beside superb botanical gardens at Mexico, Manilla, Canary, and other places.

I have seen a prospectus of Tussac's Flora of the Antilles, offered for publication at Paris. Mr. Bonpland's equinoctial plants, published at the same time, are said to be very fine. Mr. Titford's American hortus, comprehending the plants of the West Indies, and of the tropical and continental regions of America, is a performance that promises very little. Of Samuel Stearns' American Herbist it is barely sufficient to make mention, for the sake of letting you know that I have looked at it.

Being about to close the summary, which I am able to give, of the transactions during the eighteenth century, I cannot do so without laying before you the names of some excellent catalogues.

In the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. I. there is a list of the vegetables examined in the parts of New-England which he visited, by Manasseh Cutler, D. D. a gentleman so mild in his manners, and so ardent in his researches, that I consider an acquaintance with him one of the very pleasing incidents of my life. In the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Henry Muhlenberg's *Index Floræ Lancastriensis*, and supplement, are instructive documents. The correspondence with this learned, skilful, and industrious botanist, has afforded me much instruction. Dr. Caspar W. Eddy's *Plantæ Plandomenses* may be considered as a valuable and practical enumeration of the maritime plants growing in the vicinity of New-York. It gratifies me highly to state the very favourable opinion I have formed of the amiable temper and botanical proficiency of this candi-

date for scientific distinction. His performance is a good manual for the young botanist who explores the adjacent region. A full share of credit and praise is also due to a botanical labourer, John Le Conte, Esq. for the ability he has manifested in his catalogue of the vegetables growing in our island of Manhattan. This list may be seen in the second volume of the American Medical and Philosophical Register, published in this city, and may be pronounced to be at once a proof of the author's scientific proficiency, and of the help he has given to those who may follow his footsteps.

To these respectable publications I feel satisfaction in adding my favourable opinion on the catalogue of the Bartram Garden, at Kingsess, in Pennsylvania. It was published in 1807, and is an interesting botanical document.

Bernard M'Mahon deserves to be mentioned among those who have done service to the cause. Beside the information for the culture of plants, under almost all circumstances, contained in his excellent work, The Gardener's Calendar, he has likewise inserted therein several catalogues of plants, calculated to aid the florist, the nurseryman, and botanist in an eminent degree. I quote the Medical Repository, vol. 16. p. 420, for other botanical intelligence concerning our country. "Mr. Masson," it is said, "passed through New-York, on his way to Canada, about 1797. Mr. Charles Whitlow has beheld, with botanical eyes, the West Indies, New Spain, and many districts around New-York. During a part of the same period, the two Frasers explored our country in various directions, for the purpose of acquiring a more circumstantial account of its vegetables. Mr. Pursh, who has for several years cultivated botany in New York, is now engaged in diffusing the fruits of his discoveries, in London, to the Euro-

peans. Lastly, New York has had the pleasure of beholding Mr. Bradbury, since his return from the land of the Ricaras, on the high Missouri. He came loaded with the vegetable and mineral specimens which he found during his journey. Among the plants there appear to be many new species."

And last of all, I add, the elaborate and well-digested catalogue of the plants growing in Elgin Garden, at the time of its purchase by the commonwealth of New-York. By the assistance of this precious document, the acquirement of the knowledge of plants by those who seek it at this place, is greatly facilitated. The names and terms are modernized, and brought up to the latest dates. The author merits the thanks of the botanical student, and the lovers of science generally, for this instructive performance, which was printed in 1811, at this place. It is a choice manual of practice; and will be a durable monument of the industry and learning of David Hosack.

The History of Botanical Events during the nineteenth century.

1801. Here I mention, with pleasure, the Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century, by my able and intelligent friend, Samuel Miller, D. D. It is not my design to give an analysis of a work which has already undergone the ordeal of criticism with honour, but merely to refer to those chapters of it which relate to botany and natural history, as magazines of valuable facts and opinions, and references to the best authorities extant on the respective subjects.

1801. Andrew Michaux laid before the public, at Paris, in French, his history, in folio, of the North American oaks. He has exerted himself ably and usefully in extricating the species of this

important genus from the obscurity and confusion in which they lay. All botanists and rural economists ought to thank him for disentangling so difficult a part of the subject; and to that acknowledgment he will be the more entitled from the care he has taken to annex correct drawings to the exact descriptions he has given of the individuals constituting the species and varieties of the quercus. The thirty-six oaks he enumerates, show the richness of our forests in producing these invaluable trees. The French monarchy patronized the labours of this perspicuous botanist.

1802. Appeared in Philadelphia, the experimental botanico-medical essay on the tree called *Pride of China*, by Grafton Duvall.

1803. The Flora Boreali-Americana, of the same Andrew Michaux, was now published at Paris, in two volumes, 8vo. This excellent botanist resided a long time near Hackensack, a few miles from this city, in the county of Bergen, N. J. Another dwelling place that he had was in South Carolina. During twelve years, he explored the regions of North America with the most commendable diligence, between the Gulf of Mexico and Hudson's bay. The result of his minute and extensive inquiries make a very important body of intelligence. Michaux has done great things for the plants growing within the United States; his researches were diversified, and are indeed invaluable. He has described many new species: from some of these he has formed new genera. By an examination of many plants, at the places where they grow, and in the several stages of their progress, he has been able to divide some genera, to constitute others, to invent new names, and to make a corresponding distribution of species.

Michaux's work may be said to form an era in the botany of our country. It is made to conform

to the Linnæan system. It facilitates exceedingly almost every inquiry into the history of our vegetables, both indigenous and imported. It is the guide for surveying the plains, and penetrating the fastnesses of our states and territories. With such competent aid he traverses the different regions with an ease and advantage which nobody knew or felt until the North American Flora was published.

1804. The researches of Mr. Rafinesque Schmaltz deserve to be noticed in this place. Several of his compositions are extant in the volumes of the Medical Repository. They evince careful observation, with patience in describing, and skill in classifying. It is a subject of regret that this gentleman should have been obliged, by the state of his private affairs, to remove to Palermo in Sicily; and that the war raging in Europe, should have retarded the publication of the great work he had prepared upon the vegetables of the middle states. I am not without expectation it will one day appear, and enrich this branch of our natural history.

1806. F. Depons, an agent of the French government at Caraccas, published in Paris, his voyage to the eastern part of Terra Firma, on the Spanish Main, made during the four first years of the 19th century. A translation was shortly after made, and printed, in New York, with a map of all the region since comprehended within the new republic of Venezuela. The work, though instructive, cannot be denominated scientific. And the seventh chapter, which treats of the growing and preparation of produce, treats of cacao, cotton, sugar-cane, and tobacco, more like a planter and a merchant, than a botanist.

It now becomes me to mention a few of the separate tracts, which have been published on individual plants. I do not pretend to give a complete enu-

meration; nor is it to be understood that every one of them belongs to the 19th century.

Julius Van Rohr's history of the cotton plant is an important performance in this way. It was written at the special instance of the Danish government. The author resided long in the island of St. Croix, and was eminently qualified for the task. I knew this virtuous and intelligent gentleman, when he was in New York preparing for a voyage in the gulf of Guinea. His government had determined to make a settlement there, and with a view to gratify Van Rohr's passion for botanical and entomological researches, had appointed him to superintend the colony. I expected much from his skill and ardour; but, alas! the vessel he chartered in this port was never heard of after departure; and was supposed to have foundered on the ocean, with the governor on board!

Monseiur Thierry de Menonville's Treatise on the cultivation of the nopal, and on the management of the cochineal insect in Saint Domingo, was published in 1787, at Cape Français. Such an elaborate work on this cactus, or species of prickly pear, is worthy of special notice. It consists of two volumes 8vo; and the second contains several elegant figures, coloured from nature, of the leaf and its inhabitants. In beholding this work, I am led to lament the ruin of St. Domingo, and the academy of sciences there, which, in 1792, before its downfal, had chosen me a member.

The memoir entitled a botanical description of the *Cheiranthodendron*, or hand-flower tree of Toluca near Mexi-co, is a performance on a very rare and curious subject. It was translated from the Spanish original of Don L'Arreategui, by a gentleman, now of this city, equally distinguished for a polite and honourable disposition, for a love of science, and a proficiency in Persian and Asiatic litera-

ture. To Baron L'Escallier, the consul-general of France, we owe the satisfaction of examining, in drawing and description, this rare and exquisite American plant. It was published at Paris in 1805.

John M. Walker's experimental inquiry into the similarity in virtue between the cornus florida and sericea, and the Peruvian bark, was published at Philadelphia in 1803. It is embellished with a figure of the dogwood, and may be justly ranked among the respectable exercises of this kind.

About the year 1806, New-York witnessed a dissertation on the statice limonium, or marsh rosemary, by Valentine Mott, M. D. To a fine drawing of the plant is added a chemical and medical history of its qualities, highly creditable to the author, and instructive to the student.

I might mention the several tracts extant in the scientific journals of New York, on the *Xanthoriza tinctoria*, by the late professor Woodhouse, on the American Columbo, by W. P. Hildreth of Marietta, on the *scutularia laterifolia*, by Robert Bowne, Esq. and on the Canada thistle, by Mr. T. Buckley; but I forbear to descend deeper into particulars, lest I weary an audience, patient beyond example, with my observations on this almost exhaustless theme.

1808. In 1787 appeared at Bologna, a Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili, by the Abbè Ignatius Molina. In 1808, a beautiful version, from the original Italian into English, was made by R. Alsop, Esq. and published in New-York, in two octavos. The first volume of this highly respectable and very instructive work is devoted to natural history, and the third chapter treats particularly on the herbs, shrubs, and trees of that important American kingdom. The author has long been quoted for his acuteness in ob-

serving, and his correctness in describing. It is honourable to our age and country, that the first translation into our own tongue, should have been done at Middletown in Connecticut, by one of our own literati, and published in this city.

1810. I must, however, intreat their indulgence, while I present to their attention a few publications more. The first no less than the *History of the Forest Trees of North America*, now publishing at Paris, by Andrew Michaux, the younger, son of the distinguished botanist already mentioned.

The work is beautifully printed, and embellished with figures copied from life and nature. The author has had the benefit of his father's labours; and in addition thereto, has made repeated and extensive journies through the United States. Enjoying great opportunities, and possessed of the requisite qualifications, he may be considered capable of performing his task better than, perhaps, any other person. It comes out in livraisons, or numbers. To the first of these is prefixed a list of the species he intends to describe. He has begun with the *pines* and *firs*, which he has separated into distinct genera. The *pines* are those which have thread-like leaves connected at their base, to the number of two, three, or five, in the same sheath, and at the same point of attachment; while the *firs* have short leaves, fixed one by one around the branches, or to their sides.

Next follow the *hickories* and *oaks*. These are succeeded by the *birches* and *magnolias*: and so, proceeding through the *beaches*, *cypresses*, *junipers*, and others, the whole American forest is to be displayed.

Such a work, at this time, by so able a hand, may be pronounced a most seasonable and valuable addition to our knowledge; and worth a place in the library of every political economist, botanist, and landed proprietor.

1813. The present year has witnessed a publication which may almost be reckoned a botanical phenomenon. This is, *a Catalogue of the hitherto known native and naturalized plants of North America*, by *Henry Muhlenberg*, D. D. published at Lancaster in Pennsylvania. It is a performance of uncommon labour and research. To his own observations on living plants, the author has added all the information he could procure from dried specimens forwarded to him from all quarters by his numerous correspondents. He has compressed, and, as it were, condensed, a grand mass of knowledge into the compass of one hundred and twelve octavo pages. He has profited by the light of modern improvement; and is, in reality, a guiding luminary himself. *Eight hundred and sixty-three* genera witness at once the profusion with which the Creator has decked the middle and northern latitudes of the western hemisphere, and the accuracy with which these productions of his power have been registered and named.

What shall be said of American plants after all this? Why, truly, that as, during the verdant period, they surpass those which grow in other quarters of the globe, so they excel in the peculiar beauty and variety of autumnal hues, whereby our forests exhibit, during the season in which the leaves are preparing to fall, a spectacle of richness and gayety that all persons of observation admire, and which our artists might pourtray for the purpose of giving a national style and character to their landscapes.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF

MONSIEUR DE LA SALLE'S

LAST

EXPEDITION AND DISCOVERIES

IN

NORTH AMERICA

Presented to the French King, and published by the Chevalier Tonti, Governour of Fort St. Louis, in the Province of the Islinois. Made English from the Paris Original. Reprinted from the London edition of 1698, published by J. Tonson, at the Judge's Head, and S. Buckley, at the Dolphin in Fleet-street, and R. Knaplock, at the Angel and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

NEW ACCOUNT

OF

THE NORTHERN-AMERICA.

TRUTH *and sincerity being the chief qualities which make a book of this nature valuable, the author of this promises himself, upon that account, a favourable reception from the publick: and therefore thinks it would be superfluous to make a longer Preface.*

Monsieur *Cavelier de la Salle*, a native of *Roan* in *Normandy*, the chief undertaker of the discoveries in the *Northern America*, which make the subject-matter of this book, was a man of extraordinary parts, and undaunted courage. He was the first that formed the design of travelling from the lake of *Frontenac* in *Canada*, to the gulph of *Mexico*, through a vast unknown country, in order to bring the inhabitants to the knowledge of the Christian religion, and extend the dominions of the king of *France*. This gentleman having duly weighed all the difficulties that were like to cross so noble a design, came to court to acquaint his Majesty with it, who was pleased not only to approve his enterprize, but also to encourage it, by the liberal assistance, and the power he gave to M. *La Salle*, to dispose of his new discoveries as he should think fit.

I was then at the Court of *France* to sollicit some employment, having served his Majesty both by sea and land, and lost one hand in *Sicily* by a granado, and as M. *La Salle* was upon his depar-

ture, the prince of *Conti* was pleased to recommend me to him, as fit to accompany him in his undertaking, whereupon I was easily admitted, the patronage of his Highness having been very useful to M. *La Salle*. Every thing being ready for our departure, we set sail from *Rochel, July* 14, 1678, to the number of thirty men, amongst whom were pilots, carpenters, smiths, and other useful artists, and arrived at *Quebec* upon the 15th of *September* following; we remained there some days, after which having taken our leave of Count *Frontenac*, Governor-General of *Canada*, we sailed up the river *St. Laurence* to fort *Frontenac*, where we landed.

That fort lyes within 120 leagues from *Quebec*, about the 44th degree of latitude, on the mouth of a lake called likewise *Frontenac* or *Ontario*, which is near 300 leagues about, and has a communication with four other lakes, much of the same extent. All those lakes are navigable, and plentifully stored with fish; the mouth, or entrance of this lake, is defended by a fort with four large bastions, which might protect a great number of vessels against the attempts of any enemy. As M. *La Salle* had erected this fort, the king had given him the propriety thereof, and of all the lakes thereabouts with their dependencies. The country about it is so charming, that it is impossible to describe its beauties: the vast meadows are intermixed with woods and forests, full of all sorts of fruit-trees, and watered with fine brooks and rivers.

It was in this place that we prepared our selves for our great voyage, and glorious undertaking, of which no body, I am sure, can give a better account than my self, not only because I accompanied the said M. *La Salle*, but also because the chief care and burthen of that perilous, tho' glorious enterprize, fell upon me by the untimely death of that gentleman. The account which I offer now to the

publick is extracted out of the journal I kept, wherein I set down things as they appeared to me. 'Tis true, I am sometimes obliged to take things upon trust, because I could not be always with M. *La Salle*, but I am so fully convinced of the probity and honesty of those upon whose evidence I have advanced any thing, that I may answer as well for their observations as for my own. The reader must not therefore expect here noble and pompous descriptions, such as authors use to adorn their works with, but a natural simplicity, and a rigid fidelity. If my stile seems harsh and unpolite, I have no other apology for it, but that I may have contracted some thing from the commerce of the savages of *America*, with whom I have so long conversed.

Whosoever considers this enterprize in itself, the difficulties it was attended with, and the advantages that *Europe* may reap from the discovery of those vast countries, which are above eighteen hundred leagues north and south, will, I hope, agree, that an exact account thereof is worthy of the curiosity of the reader.

That large country is now called by the name of *Louisiana*, since the *French* took possession thereof in the name of *Lewis* the Great. The soil is, generally speaking, so fertile, that it produces naturally without any culture, those fruits that nature and art together have much ado to bring forth in *Europe*: they have two crops every year without any great fatigue; the vines bring extraordinary grapes, without the care of the husbandmen; and the fruit-trees need no gardiners to look after them; the air is every where temperate; the country is watered with navigable rivers, and delicious brooks and rivulets, and diversified with forests and meadows; it is stockt with all sorts of beasts, as bulls, *orignac's*, wolves, lines, wild asses, stags,

goats, sheep, foxes, hares, beavers, otters, dogs, and all sorts of fowls, which afford a plentiful game for the inhabitants. They have discovered mines of lead and iron, and 'tis not doubted but there are also mines of gold and silver, if they would give themselves the trouble to look for them; but the inhabitants of those countries valuing things only as far as they are necessary for life, are yet unacquainted with the fanciful value we put upon those metals, and have not dig'd up the earth to look for them.

Those inhabitants have nothing of man but the shape and the name; they live without any laws, religion, superiority, or subordination, independency and liberty being their *summum bonum*, or the ultimate end they propose to themselves. Their life is always wandering, having no settled possessions; they take several wives, if they please, whom they quit when they will, and leave them to others, just as they do their habitations, for after having for some time cultivated a piece of ground, they quit it without any occasion to cultivate another, and the first comer takes possession thereof, so that they are perpetually changing their habitations, and by this continual motion, every thing becomes in a manner common amongst them: they know no superiority, and think the world is made only for them.

I said they have no religion, tho' it seems they have an obscure idea of God, because they live as if they thought there was none. They believe in general that there is a God, but who does not concern himself in what they do. Some worship the sun, and others fancy that the world is full of certain spirits, who preside over their actions, and they are so extravagant as to believe, that every thing in the world has a spirit, and that they are good or hurtful according to the *caprice* of that spirit.

'Tis upon this principle that are grounded all the foolish superstitions of their *jugglers* or *monitous*, who are their priests or magicians.

I don't believe that they have carried their reflections so far, as to think on the nature of their souls, tho' 'tis true, they seem to believe their immortality, and a kind of *metempsychosis*, or transmigration of souls; but they have so many extravagant fancies upon this subject, that it is in a manner impossible to discover their true opinion. I may say in general, that they are so stupid in matters of religion, that they are not convinced of their own belief, nor of what others believe, and therefore laugh at the instructions of our missionaries.

However, notwithstanding that brutish temper, they have as good a sense as the rest of mankind, to know their true interests, and therefore are capable of negotiations, commerce, and counsel. They know how to weigh and consider the consequences of an enterprize, and take just measures to compass it. When they meet together to consult about some great design, they sit in a private place, in a profound silence, smoking tobacco, and every one speaks gravely in his turn. It is to be observed by the by, that they never make any treaty, convention, or agreement with any body, till they have first of all, mutually exchanged presents. They give commonly collars as the symbol of union; they have a particular kettle for peace, and another for war. They proclaim peace with the *calumet*, and war by great outcries, or rather dreadful howlings.

They know likewise how to incamp, and fortifie their camps with intrenchments and pallisadoes. They observe also some order in their attacks.

This soil produces indifferently all sorts of corn and plants, but as they have observed, that some among them are more proper for their nourishment

than others, they take care to sow and cultivate them, and therefore they have great crops of *Indian* corn, of which they make a sort of very delicious and nourishing pap. They cultivate also what they call *touquo*, of which they make their *cassave*, and turneps, wherewith they make *cassamite*. These are their own terms, which are not to be translated. There are in their country several sorts of trees, from which an excellent balsam drops, the use whereof the savages know very well, as also of several plants against wounds, and the venomous bitings or stinging of serpents and other creatures.

Their knowledge is not circumscribed within those narrow bounds; they carry it as far as Heaven, and have obtained a sufficient knowledge of the course of the sun, moon, and planets, and pretend thereby to foretel the changes of the weather, winds, storms, and other things of this nature.

Besides those qualities already mentioned, they have a wonderful dexterity at several beautiful and useful works; some of them make extraordinary fine mats for their coverings, and adorning their cabins; others have found the way to dress leather to make wastecoats and shoes; but their greatest dexterity appears, in my opinion, in the structure of their *canoos* which can never sink. They make them with the barks of elm, walnut-trees, or elder-trees, about 10 or 12 foot long, the side being a little turned inward as *gondolas*. Instead of oars they make use of two pieces of wood, like two bakers peals, and term *swimming* what we call *roving*. As their canoos draw very little water, because of their lightness, the savages *swim* with an extraordinary swiftness, even against the stream of rivers, and undertake very long voyages without fearing rocks or storms.

Tho' there are neither road nor path in that country, they travel through these vast forests and wildernesses, with the help of certain marks they make upon the rind of trees from place to place; and by these means, the women and children are able to find the men when they go a hunting, or upon any expedition. They very seldome bring home what they kill, and it is the office of their wives to fetch it and dress it.

I think fit to add, in this place, a short account of their cabins, houshold goods, and the like. Many of them are wandring in woods, where they lie upon the ground as beasts; but such who live together, make cabins, or huts, with branches of trees driven into the ground, interlaced with others, and joined at the top as close as possible, and covered with reeds, or large leaves of trees. The inside looks somewhat better, it is well-enough matted, and most of them have a sort of curious floor.

Their bedsteads are made up with some pieces of wood, upon which they lay skins full of wool or straw; but for their covering, they use the finest sort of skins, or else mats finely wrought.

They have cellars, or rather holes, to preserve their corn, their wood, and other provisions; but all their kitchen utensils consists in some few pieces of earthen-ware, which they make with clay, and harden it with the dung of bulls. They have no sorts of mills, but instead thereof, use to grind their corn between two stones, with a great deal of trouble. They make use of a sort of sharp stones instead of knives; but this must be understood of such savages, who never had any commerce with *Europeans*.

They use bows and arrows with great dexterity, and the extremity of their arrow is arm'd, instead of iron, with a sharp stone, or the tooth of some

animal. They have besides heavy clubs, or sharp sticks, instead of swords or halberds. They use also wooden corslets against arrows, and make bucklers with several skins stiched together.

Most of them go stark naked, and are so inured to rain, and other hardships, that their bodies are almost insensible; and the soles of their feet so hard, as to resist the sharpness of thorns and stones. Their women have still preserved a shadow of modesty, for they wear commonly about their waste a large girdle, from which hang two pieces of skin, which cover in some manner their nakedness. I speak of those savages who inhabit a temperate climate, for those who live to the northward of *Quebec*, and other cold countries, cover themselves with skins of bears, stags, ellends, and the like. I must observe also, that those who inhabit toward *Mexico*, seem more civilized than others; for tho' their climate is pretty hot, they cover themselves with mats finely wrought.

The care of the family lies equally upon the husband and the wife: the former goes a fishing or hunting for the family; and the wife tills the ground, and gets in what she has sow'd. It is likewise her duty to fetch fruit, herbs, and other things in the woods. When the savage is come back from hunting, he takes first of all his pipe, and as he smoaks, tells his wife what he has done, and what he would have her to do, which she must obey without any reluctancy.

One may observe in men a great gravity and authority, and in women an extraordinary complaisance for their husbands, and as they follow their natural instinct in every thing they do, their behaviour is always sincere and without any affectation; and one may truly say, that the conjugal union between them, is the effect of annt- luirera

clination, which is common to men and to brutes, and not founded upon a true friendship.

The savages being perpetually in action, they are free from several diseases that the *Europeans* are subject to, and 'tis observable, that these women have not that natural incommodity that ours are liable unto, and that, which is still more to be wonder'd at, they bring forth without any pain, or at least without any ceremony as they go along, making no other provision for it, than their own girdle, and some skins to wrap up the child into.

They have a very extraordinary way to bring up their children, for though they have no clouts or swath-bands, they have found a way to keep them very clean without any great trouble. They provide themselves with a good quantity of dust of rotten wood, which is as soft as any doun whatsoever, and is very good to preserve them against humidity. They lay their children upon that dust and wrap them into some good furs, and tie them pretty fast, and have nothing to do for dressing them, but to change that dust, by means whereof they keep them always clean, till they are able to walk about.

They feed them with pap, made with *Indian* corn, and give them a bow as soon as they can walk: so that they use themselves to shoot, and follow their parents into the woods, learning thereby betimes the usual places for hunting: and having no manner of education, they are only guided by their natural inclination and sensuality, as beasts.

I should never make an end, should I undertake to give a particular account of all the customs of the savages; but I think that what I have said is sufficient to convince the reader, that their intelligence extends only to what is necessary for supporting their natural life; and that if they have any law amongst them, it is to observe none at all.

Born and bred up in forests, hunting is their greatest pastime, to which I may add war, quarrels, and cruelty, which is such, that they must turn their arms against harmless beasts, when they want pretences or opportunities to use them against men.

It was through those wild nations that M. *La Salle* undertook to travel, and discover a way to the gulph of *Mexico;* and whosoever will impartially consider that enterprize, must agree, that this courageous design can hardly be parallel'd. But this will appear the better, if they consider what preparations he made for that great journey. He had only *thirty* men, as I have already said, without any other provisions, but powder and shot, which were to supply him during his voyage. We had first of all a bark, and some canoos, but we were soon deprived of that help, and forc'd to travel by land, and carry our equipage, crossing large rivers upon rafts, or trees, having no other guide through those vast unknown countries but a compass, and the genius of our commander, who (according to the variation of the needle, and the knowledge he had in astronomy) was able to guess at the climate we were in, and what course we were to follow.

These difficulties, the armies of savages, which we were obliged to fight to force our way, hunger, thirst, and other wants and perils, were however surmounted by our courage and constancy, so that we arrived at the gulph of *Mexico*, and after several misfortunes returned home. But before I proceed any further, I think fit to give an account of the *four lakes* I have already mentioned.

The *first* lies above the 47 degree of latitude, and is called *Upper Lake*, or of *Frontenac*, and may be 80 leagues broad, and 300 in circuit. It has communication with the lake *Herie*, or of *Conti*, by a canal of above 20 leagues long, interrupted by a fall of 600 foot high, known under the name of

Fall of Niagara. This lake of *Conti* joins with another called *The Lake of the Hurons*, or of *Orleans*, by a canal or stream which is very rapid, and this last lake has communication to the south with a fourth, called, *The Lake of the Illinois*, or of the *Dauphin*: It joins also by the north side with another lake, larger than any of the rest, called, *The Lake of Conde*; but we did not see it.

Having refreshed our selves about a fortnight at fort *Frontenac*, we embarqued on the 18th of November, 1678, on board a vessel of forty tunns, to cross the first lake I have mentioned, and this was the first ship that ever sail'd upon this fresh water sea. The wind being very contrary, we spent a whole month before we could arrive at a village called *St. Onnontuane*, where M. *La Salle* sent some canoos to fetch Indian corn for our subsistence; and from thence we continued our course towards *Niagara*, but the stream being too rapid, and the wind contrary, we were obliged to cast an anchor about nine leagues from that place, whither we went by land. *Niagara* is a village of the *Iroquois*, situated upon the lake of *Conti*, near the wonderful fall I have taken notice of.

This nation, the most warlike and cruel of all the *Americans*, is possessed of a tract of land from *Montreal*, or rather from the place where the two rivers, which form that of *St. Laurence*, meet, to the further end of the lake of *Conti*, which is about two hundred leagues to the south. This nation is very ambitious to command their neighbours; and when they hear of any other nation which grows powerful, either by the number of their fighting men, or by the extent of their possessions, they march to subdue them, and they make sometimes excursions three or four hundred leagues. They are indefatigable, undaunted in the greatest danger; and of such a fierce courage and constancy,

as to be proof against the most exquisite torments, when taken by their enemies, rather than betray the designs of their country-men: they never ask, and seldom give quarter. They drink the blood of their enemies, and add to their great cruelty, all the stratagems, subtility and precaution, that one might expect from experienc'd soldiers.

This nation, tho' fierce and cruel, as I have represented them, receiv'd us very kindly. We laid one night in their village, and went the next day to view a proper place, above three leagues higher, to build a fort, and having found an advantageous situation, M. *De la Salle* laid the foundation of it, and ordered his men to work upon it with all imaginable diligence; but the *Iroquois* taking some jealousie at it; it was thought fit to desist, to avoid giving offence to so dangerous an enemy; and therefore we contented our selves to fortifie our magazine with strong palisadoes.

M. *La Salle* had given orders for building a new ship or great bark, and our men workt about it with all the diligence that the season of the year could permit; but the cold was so excessive, that not only rivers, but even those vast lakes were frozen all over, insomuch that they look'd like a plain pav'd with fine polish'd marble. We traded in the mean time with the natives, and got a great number of furs; but several things being wanting to continue our voyage, this couragious gentleman resolved to return by land to fort *Frontenac*, and come back again in the spring with a new supply of ammunition and merchandise, to trade with the nations he intended to visit. He sent likewise fifteen men further into the country, with orders to endeavour to find out the *Illinois*, and left his fort of *Niagara*, and fifteen men under my command. One of the *Recollects* continued with us.

The winter being over, a bark arrived from fort *Frontenac*, with ammunition and merchandises, but it was stav'd to pieces against the coast, by the fault of the pilot, however most of the effects were sav'd; and soon after, M. *la Salle* arrived, who immediately renewed his commerce with the *Iroquois*, and endeavoured to give them some idea of the power of the king, that they might have some respect for his subjects. This new ship being near finished, he sent me with five men to view the coast, and the country to the north side of the lake, above 120 leagues from *Niagara*. We embarked in our canoos, and having rowed two days, or rather swom, to use the stile of the savages, arrived to the straight of the lake *Herie*.

This straight or canal, by which the lake *Herie* joins with that of the *Hurons*, is about thirty leagues long. I landed to the north side, and enquired for the men M. *La Salle* had sent before; but hearing they were gone higher, I advanced into the country in hopes to find them; and this gave me an opportunity to take an exact survey of that delicious peninsula, which has almost the form of an heart, by reason of the three lakes already mentioned.

Having made all the observations I thought necessary, both as to the canal between the two lakes, and the nature of the soil, I returned to give an account thereof to M. *La Salle*, who, before my arrival, was gone back to fort *Frontenac* with a considerable quantity of furrs, from whence he returned to *Niagara*, on the seventh of August, 1679, with a fresh supply of ammunition and provisions, and three *Recollects*. The spring and most part of the summer were thus spent in frequent goings and comings, which however are absolutely necessary in order to make a good and lasting settlement.

Our bark being finished, and every thing ready for our departure, we sail'd towards the middle of

August, and having happily crossed the lake *Herie*, got into that of the *Hurons*, which, as it has been already said, is much larger than the other two. We met there with a dreadful storm, as great as any that I ever heard of upon the ocean, or any other sea, but we had the good fortune to find a good road called *Missilimachinac*. It is an *isthmus*, or neck of land about twenty leagues broad, and 120 long, between the lake of the *Hurons* and that of the *Illinois*, which is one of the finest situations in the world; and besides the prodigious fertility of the soil, and all sorts of game, the inhabitants have an extraordinary plenty of fish.

M. *La Salle* took an exact survey of that fine country, and having marked out a fort for our security, sent me, with some others, towards the north-east, to observe the fall *St. Mary*, and endeavour to discover some of our deserters. This fall forms two canals, and a pretty large island, which being re-united, make a very rapid river, by which the lake of the *Hurons* has communication with another much larger than all the rest. I went a-shore upon the northern coast of the lake *Huron*, and advanced through a most delicious country, as far as the river *Onta*, which coming out of that great lake, runs about a hundred leagues, and falls into the river *St. Laurence*. The charming prospect of the banks of that river, made the fatigues I suffer'd very easie to me, tho' I had no other provisions than what I could kill with my gun. I spent eight days in my journey, and from thence went into the southern canal I have spoken of where I landed. I discover'd there a large plain between the lake of the *Hurons* and that of the *Illinois*, and a fine settlement belonging to the Jesuits. I found there also our deserters, who appear'd, at first, very stubborn and disaffected, but were at last perswaded to return with me to *Missilimachinac*, where I under-

stood that M. *La Salle* had sailed from thence towards the end of *September*, for the bay of *Puans*, where he arriv'd the 8th of *October*, as I have been informed since.

This bay of *Puans* is formed by an overflowing of the lake of the *Illinois*, occasion'd by a great river, which falls into this lake. This river call'd *Onisconcing* comes from another lake about 100 leagues distant; from which comes another river, which falls into the *Mississipi*; and therefore this lake may be lookt upon as a communication between *Canada* and the *Gulph of Mexico*, as one may see by the map.

M. *La Salle* being arrived in that bay, took some new measures, and sent back his bark, laden with furs, to *Niagara*, and embarked again in canoos with seventeen men and a *Recollect*, to go to the further end of the lake of the *Illinois*, where he arrived the first of *November*, 1679, and landed at the mouth of the river of the *Miamis*.

This country lies between the 35 and 40 degrees of latitude; is bounded to the *east* by *Virginia* and *Florida*; and on the other side by the *Iroquois* and the *Illinois*. The soil is very fertile, and produces all sorts of corn and fruit; it abounds also in cattle and fish. M. *La Salle* visited the inhabitants, and finding their temper tractable, endeavoured to gain their friendship by presents. They exchanged some merchandises, and M. *La Salle* managed this trade with so much prudence and dexterity, as to convince them it would be a greater advantage for them to trade with the *French* than with the *English* or the *Iroquois*.

However, as he observed that this nation was inconstant, and easily imposed upon, he though fit to build a fort for his security, and to make there a kind of magazine for the execution of his further designs, which was accordingly done with all con-

venient speed, M. *La Salle* having chosen an advantageous situation at the mouth of the river.

The impatience I had to re-join M. *La Salle* with the fifteen men I had brought back to their duty, obliged me to make all the haste possible, but the want of provisions, and the contrary winds obliged us to land within thirty leagues of our fort, where we found acorns and some staggs, wherewith we refreshed our selves. My men were so harassed, that I could never perswade them to embark again the same day, which obliged me to imbark alone with our pilots, promising them to return speedily. The weather being very stormy, we spent six days before we could reach the fort *Miamis*, where I gave an account to M. *La Salle* of my discoveries. He received me very kindly, but told me withal, that he had been better pleased to see me arrived with all his men.

These last words seem'd to me a command, and therefore after having refreshed myself, I went again into my canoo, but I was hardly fifteen leagues off, that I was met by a violent storm, in which our canoo was overturned and then set to rights again, and at last driven upon the shore, from whence we went over land to meet our men at the place appointed. We arrived there the next morning, and having spent the rest of the day to get them together, embarked again, and came in less than one day to fort *Miamis*.

M. *La Salle* was very glad to see his men together, looking upon this recruit as a necessary supply to carry on his designs, and yet these very men disappointed them, and some time after put an end to his discoveries, and to his life, so that the men alone, upon whom he grounded his hopes, were the only cause of all the misfortunes that befell him, and of the tragical end of his life.

M. *La Salle* having in less than two months put his fort in a good posture of defence, as well to protect his barks, and canoos, as to defend himself against the natives on the land side, and engaged the chief of the nation into his interests, resolved to advance as far as the *Illinois*, whose nearest habitation was above 100 leagues from our fort.

The only way to go to them, was to embark upon a river, which springing from a hill within six leagues of the lake of the *Illinois*, becomes navigable above forty leagues from our fort, and falls into the *Mississipi*, after a course of 200 leagues. We left our fort and the country of the *Miamis* in the beginning of *December*, leaving only ten men to secure our magazines; and having carried our canoos and equipage over land, arrived four days after upon the river of the *Illinois*, where we embarked to the number of forty-four persons, without reckoning three *Recollects*. We fell down the said river, by easie journeys, the better to observe that countrey, and supply our selves with provisions. The banks of that river are as charming to the eye, as useful for life. The meadows, fruit-trees, and forests, affording every thing that is necessary for men and beasts, so that being amused by that agreeable variety, we spent six days from the *Portage* (that is the place where we embarked) to the first village of the *Illinois*, called *Pontdalamia*, consisting of above 500 cabins, where we found no inhabitants. We went ashore, and viewed their cabins, or cottages, which are made with great pieces of timber, interlac'd with branches, and covered with bark. The inside is more neat, the walls or sides, as well as the floor, being finely matted. Every cottage has two apartments, wherein several families might lodge, and under every one of them there is a cave or vault, wherein they preserve their *Indian*-corn, of which we

took a sufficient quantity, because we wanted provisions.

We continued our voyage, and above thirty leagues lower fell into a lake or pond above seven leagues in circuit, where we caught excellent fish; and following the stream, fell again into the channel of the river, and found our selves between two bodies of savages, who were encamped on both sides the river. They had no sooner discovered us, but they run to their arms, and put themselves in order of battel, after having sent their wives and children into the woods. We put our selves likewise in good posture, and brought our canoos upon a line, and advanced towards the shore in that order. The *Illinois* observing our countenance, and being naturally inclin'd to peace, contented themselves to ask us, who we were? We answered by our interpreter, that we were subjects to the king of *France*, and come to make them know the Master of heaven and earth, and offer them the protection of our great Monarch; adding, that if they would put themselves under his protection, they should live happily, and free from the insults of their enemies. We told them besides, that though their country was plentiful, they wanted industry to enjoy the advantages of it, and therefore offer'd them our own, provided they would have commerce with us. The *Illinois* having heard our answer and proposals, received us not as savages use to do, but as men well-bred and civiliz'd. They express'd as much as they could, their veneration for our king; they presented us the *calumet*, the signal or badge of peace among all those nations, as it has been already observed. They use the word of *singing* or *dancing* the *calumet*. When they sing it, they drive a pole into the ground, and every one brings in that place what he hath taken from the enemy, of which they make a kind of

trophy, and sing about it their warlike expeditions and glorious feats. They call dancing the *calumet*, when they dance about that trophy after the singing is over.

We answer'd their ceremonies and complements by all the demonstrations of joy we could think on, and some presents as tokens of our friendship. We told them, that necessity had forc'd us to take some *Indian* corn out of their village, for which we gave them some toys and brandy. This convinc'd them of our sincerity, and sending for their wives and children, made preparations to entertain us with all the solemnity and magnificence they are capable of, with beef and stag, and all sorts of venison and fowls. We were very liberal on our side of our brandy, so that the feast lasted three whole days; during which, we made several discharges of our arms, at which they were frighted, but our good words and kind expressions confirmed them in the good opinion they had of us. The familiar titles of brothers, friends, and comrades, were not forgotten; and even some of us were adopted into the chief families amongst them; so that through the natural inconstancy of the *Americans*, we discover'd in the *Illinois* a great humanity, and a good disposition to civil society.

They are naturally caressing, flatterers, and complaisant; but on the other side, cunning, and dexterous at all exercises. They are generally speaking well shaped, strong, and of a brown or tawny complexion. Hunting is their great delight, which makes them indocible. They love women with excess, and boys above women, so that they become by that horrid vice, very effeminate. 'Tis observable, however, that notwithstanding that vitious inclination, they have several laws to punish that infamous vice. For as soon as a boy has prostituted himself, he is degraded in a manner of

his sex, being forbidden to wear the apparel or name of man, and to make any office or function fit for men, even not so much as to be suffered to go a hunting. They are therefore look'd upon as women, and confined to their employments, of whom they are even more slighted and hated than by men; insomuch that these wretches become, by their crime, the scorn and contempt of both sexes. Thus without any help, but natural reason, they are sensible of their crime, and have made these laws as a bridle to master their brutish sensuality, tho', as I have said before, they hate all manner of restraint; they marry several wives, and to preserve peace and union in their families, they marry commonly sisters or near relations. They are very jealous, and punish the infidelity of their wives with a great severity. *Hermaphrodites* are very common amongst them, but whether it be an effect of the climate or no, I do not pretend to determine. Women, and the prostituted boys I have spoken of, work fine mats for hanging their cottages, while men go a hunting or till the ground for sowing of *Indian* corn. Their country is situated along the river, which bears their name, and are dispersed in several villages. This contains about fifteen hundred souls, amongst whom we computed five hundred fighting men.

M. *La Salle* being sensible of the strength of this nation, thought that nothing was to be neglected to keep them in amity with us; but at the same time that it was necessary to provide ourselves against their inconstancy. Therefore he ordered a fort to be built upon a rising ground near the river, which was in a little time in a posture of defence. However, he was in great pain for his bark, which he had sent back from the bay of *Puans* to *Niagara*, of which he had no manner of news. This, together with the malice of some of

our men, made him so melancholy, that the paleness of his face betrayed the grief of his heart; but as he was very courageous, he concealed it as well as possible, contenting himself to manifest it by the name of *crevecœur* (breaking heart) which he gave to his fort.

We had however, hitherto, no great cause of complaint; we had happily carried on our discovery to 500 leagues beyond fort *Frontenac*, and made several forts for the communication and security of our settlements. Most of the savages were entred into our alliance, and the fiercest among them had not so much as offer'd to stop our progress, so that we found no enemies but our selves, and our own divisions, which proved at last a fatal source of great misfortunes and miseries.

Most of our men being discouraged by a long and tedious voyage, the end whereof they could not see, and weary of a wandering life in forests and desarts, where they had no other company but brutes, and savages, without any guide, carriage, and provisions, could not forbear murmuring against the author of so tiresome and perillous an enterprise. M. *La Salle*, whose penetration was extraordinary, discover'd immediately their dissatisfaction, and try'd all possible means to prevent the consequences thereof. The glory of the enterprise, the example of the *Spaniards*, the hopes of a great booty, and every thing else that may engage men, we made use of to incourage them, and inspire them with better sentiments; but these exhortations, like oil poured upon fire, served only to increase their dissatisfaction. What, said they, must we always be slaves to his *caprichio's*, and be continually bubbl'd by his visions and foolish expectations? and must the fatigues we have hitherto undergone be used as an argument to oblige us to go through more perils, to gratifie the ambition or

folly of a merciless man, who upon fair pretences has transplanted us into this new world amongst brutes? We are very far from our country, without provisions or any other help; but our case shall be ten times worse, if we follow the wandring inclinations of a man, who is resolved to go to the further end of the world. He has made himself rich by our perils, and to our own loss; what then have we to do, but to put a stop, by his death, to our further miseries, and take possession of what he has gained by our fatigues? These were the arguments these villains used to incourage themselves to the horrid crime they had resolved upon; but having, upon second thoughts, considered the consequences of their violent designs, they thought it would be more safe to incite the *Illinois* against him, that he might perish by their hands.

To compass that villainous design, they made a shew of an extraordinary friendship to the savages, and let them know, that by reason of the good entertainment they had received from them, they thought themselves oblig'd to acquaint them with the dangers they were threatened with. They told them that M. *La Salle* was in a strict alliance with the *Iroquois*, their ancient and implacable enemies; that he was advanced into their country to discover their situation and strength; that the fort he had built was to bridle them; and that the voyage he pretended to make to fort *Frontenac*, was in order to acquaint the *Iroquois* with their condition, and conduct them into their country, to destroy altogether their nation, having agreed together to share the booty amongst them; concluding, that having revealed to them the wicked designs of the commander, they left it to their own prudence, to take what measures they should think necessary for their security

'Tis very easie to guess what impression such a discovery wrought upon a weak and credulous people, who believed without any further inquiry, whatever our villains had told them. They broke off immediately their society with us, and lookt upon us, but chiefly upon our chief, as their greatest enemies, and resolved upon our ruin. M. *La Salle* suspected the cause of their mistrust, and was sensible of the danger he was exposed to, but did not know from whence it came. His great courage was not however cast down, and trusting to his good conscience, went boldly to the chief of the savages, and told them, that he observed such an alteration in their proceedings with him, that he could not but be concerned at it; and therefore desir'd them to tell him the motives of their mistrust, and to consider whether they were well grounded, or only an artifice of their common enemies, who were jealous of the good correspondence that was between them.

The *Illinois* could not refuse that reasonable demand, and therefore told him, that his own men had discover'd his designs against them, in conjunction with the *Iroquois*. M. *La Salle*, though surpriz'd at the perfidiousness and treachery of his men, made use of such convincing arguments, to prove the malice of his accusers and his innocence, together with the impossibility of his league with a cruel nation, who is bound by no law nor sense of humanity; that the *Illinois* were perswaded of the sincerity of his intentions, and of the motive of his enemies, and therefore we became friends again.

The calm was hardly setled, but that it was disturbed by a more dangerous storm than the former, by the arrival of one *Mausolea*, a secret emissary of the *Iroquois*, of the neighbouring nation of the *Mascontans*, a cunning, seditious and eloquent man. This pretended embassador arriv'd in the camp of

the *Illinois* during the night, and having gain'd the chief of them, the council was called, where *Mausolea* having displayed his presents, acquainted the assembly with the motives of his embassie. He told them that it was not the interest alone of his nation and theirs, but rather of all the *Americans*, which had occasion'd his deputation, seeing that they were informed that the *French* were come with a design to subdue the whole country of the Northern *America* to the gulph of *Mexico*; that to succeed therein, we pretended not only to make use of our own forces, but likewise of the *Americans* themselves; that in order thereunto, we had contracted a strict alliance with the *Iroquois* their common enemies: that the fort we had erected on their river, was the beginning of our tyranny, and a place of refuge 'till the arrival of our confederates: that if they expected any longer, and gave us time to join together, their miseries should be past remedy, and therefore advised them to prevent us, and destroy us whilst it was in their power.

These calumnies of *Mausolea* made a great impression on the credulous *Illinois*, and so much the more, because his accusation agreed exactly with what our own men had told them. But doubtless the reader expects an account of the reason that put the *Iroquois* upon this villainous trick; and if we remember what has been already said of the character of that barbarous nation, 'tis easie to discern, that they were afraid that the *Illinois* would grow too powerful by their commerce with us, and be enabled by the use of fire-arms, to make head against them, and therefore they made use of this *Mausolea* to accuse us as he did, in order to incense the *Illinois* against our nation, and prevent thereby our settlement in the country.

M. *La Salle*, who relied upon the faith of the late reconciliation, knew nothing of this new

storm; and having no other thoughts than to settle his union with the *Illinois*, rose very early, and went directly to the camp of the *Illinois* with his best friend, where he was mightily surpriz'd to see a general uproar; and that no body would speak with him. The conjuncture was very nice, and therefore M. *La Salle* was in a great perplexity, and did not know what to do. Some were of opinion to retire into the fort 'till this new treachery was discover'd, but he would not hearken to this advice, lest his retreat should confirm the accusation of his enemies; and took a resolution more worthy of himself, tho' more dangerous. He went up boldly to the assembly of the chief of the nation, and expressed himself as well as he could in their own language, and much to this effect:

FRIENDS,

I CANNOT *but wonder at your inconstancy; we parted very good friends last night, and this morning I find you almost in arms against me; no body speaks to me, and every body threatens me: what new crime have I committed? or rather by what new impostor have you been incensed against me? I surrender myself, and therefore if ever I have acted against the interest of your nation, you may do what you please, I am at your mercy.* The savages considering his speech, and his countenance, were almost perswaded with his innocence, and told him the subject of the embassie of *Mausolea*, who was at that time present, whereupon M. *La Salle* directed his speech to him in this manner: *You accuse me of an alliance with a barbarous and treacherous nation, but where are your proofs? If you have any, speak out; but if you have none, do you think the* Illinois *will believe your malicious contrivances?*

Mausolea had certainly no proof, but endeavoured to make out his accusation by some circumstances; as his former commerce with the *Iroquois*; the fort he had built upon the river of the *Illinois*; and his return to fort *Frontenac*, concluding that though these were no direct proofs, yet they were substantial indications of his design. It was very easie for M. *La Salle* to answer his arguments, and to shew that the *Iroquois*, being jealous of their good correspondence, and sensible that their union would enable them to make head against them, had hir'd this emissary to create these divisions. He advised them to consider every thing, and how the *Iroquois* had subdued, by their artifices, the *Miamis*, the *Quiaquons*, and the *Mascontans*, who sent this pretended advice; and therefore exhorted to weigh every thing, and enquire into the embassie, for he suspected *Mausolea* was sent by the *Iroquois*, and not by his own nation; assuring them, in the mean time, that he was come to protect them against the *Iroquois* and their other enemies.

These reasons being accompanied with the assuredness which a good cause inspires, had all the expected effect; insomuch that *Mausolea* himself, out of fear, or remorse of conscience, confess'd, that the *Iroquois* had spread those reports among the *Mascontans*, on purpose to excite a general insurrection against us, and owned that the safety of the *Illinois*, and of his own nation, depended on their union with us; whereupon the *Illinois* made us all the protestations in the world, that they would never renounce our alliance, nor give ear any more to the suggestions of our common enemies.

This peace and good correspondence being thus happily restored, M. *La Salle* turn'd all his thoughts towards his enterprise, and finding himself near the

great river *Mississipi*, he resolved to divide his men, to carry on at once his discoveries to the *north* and to the *south*, by means of that river, reserving for himself to fall down to the sea, and to send some body else towards the source of the river. But as he was thus preparing himself, his treacherous men plotted to put a stop both to his journey and to his life, and to poison him and his best friends at once. They pitched upon *Christmas-day* for acting this villainy, and found means to put some poison into the pot, to cut off at one blow, all such as might have avenged the death of their captain, and likewise to remain the sole masters of the fort, and of all the effects that were therein.

The dinner was hardly over, that *M. La Salle* and his friends found themselves very ill. They fell into convulsions and other symptoms, which discover'd the true cause of them; wereupon they took a dose of good treacle, and by this quick remedy, prevented the effect of the poison, insomuch that all recover'd.

This was too plain to be denyed, and too horrid to be forgiven, therefore the rogues ran away to avoid the just punishment they deserv'd; and tho' *M. La Salle*, sent after them, it was not possible to overtake them, the thick forests affording them a fair opportunity to make their escape. The desertion of these villains weaken'd our band, but we were soon recruited by several young savages, who engag'd themselves into our service, and likewise by some *French* men who were dispers'd and wandering in the woods, so that our number was in a little time considerably increased.

Things being thus settl'd, *M. La Salle* apply'd himself to the execution of his project, and appointed *Mr. Dacan* for the discovery of the country along the *Mississipi*, to the north-east, with four *French* men, two savages, and father *Louis*, a *Re-*

collect. He gave 'em arms, ammunition, and some merchandise to trade with the nations. They embarked on the 28th of *February* 1680, and fell down the river of the *Illinois* into the *Mississipi*, and from thence went up that great river for 450 leagues together to the *north*, and came within seven leagues of its source, landing now and then on both sides to view the country, and by what nation it was inhabited.

The *Mississipi* springs out of a fountain on the top of a hill in the country of the *Issati*, about the 50 degree of latitude: It receives so many rivolets, that it becomes navigable for boats within six leagues from its source. The country along its banks is inhabited by several nations, as the *Hanctons*, *Issati's*, *Oua*, *Tintonha*, and *Nadouestians*, who received Mr. *Dacan* with all the kindness imaginable. He traded with them, and increased his number with several savages, who offered to accompany him. He set up likewise the king's arms about two leagues from the source of the river, upon a great tree in sight of those nations, as a mark that they became subjects to his master. He made also several settlements, and one, among the rest, among the *Issati's*, where some *French* men desired to remain.

This gentleman, charmed with the docility of these nations, and engaged by the advantagious trade that he met with there, advanced to the lake of the *Arsenipoits*, which is about thirty leagues in circuit. That nation received our men kindly, notwithstanding their natural fierceness, and they founded there an habitation, and another among the *Chongaskabees*, or nations of *strong men*, who are neighbours of the *Arsenipoits*.

While Mr. *Dacan* was carrying on his discoveries, M. *La Salle* took his leave of the *Illinois*, to return to fort *Frontenac*, in order to get a new sup-

ply of men and ammunition, and likewise to view in what condition were his forts, magazines and settlements, and hasten the building of a new ship, which he had order'd to be made. He set out the 8th *November*, 1680, and three days after arrived to the village of the *Illinois*, where he resolved to build another fort on a rising ground, in order to command the *Miamis*, *Outagamis*, *Kikapous*, *Aisnous*, and *Mascoutans*; and to serve likewise for a place of refuge to the *French*. This design, tho' prudent and advantagious, was however attended with some fatal consequences, as we shall see hereafter.

Having taken all the observations that he thought necessary; he continued his journey, and met, about two leagues from the village of the *Illinois*, two of his men, whom he had sent two months before to *Missilimachinac*, to endeavour to get intelligence of his new ship. These rogues pretended to have done their utmost, without having been able to discover what was become of her, tho' they had burnt it themselves, after having sold the effects that were on board to the *Iroquois*. M. *La Salle* suspected presently that it was lost, but however, appeared as unconcern'd as before, and sent me in a letter a draught of the fort he had marked out, ordering me to work thereupon immediately.

These villains, who had already sold us to the *Iroquois*, made a great haste in order to improve the absence of our commander to their advantage, and deliver'd me the letter of M. *La Salle*, which being very pressing, I went immediately to the place I was commanded to, exhorting my men to peace and union; and leaving the fort under the command of the most faithful. The place M. *La Salle* had pitched upon, was a rock very high, the top of which was even and of a convenient space, so that it commanded the river, and the country round

about. I had already drawn some lines, and made other preparations to build it, when I heard that these villains had seduc'd and perverted most of our men, insomuch that they had plundered our fort, and carried away what was most valuable in it. I returned immediately, and found only seven or eight *French* men in the fort, who had been so honest as to detest the villainy of their comrades, but not able to prevent it. I confess my heart was almost broke, when I consider'd the condition we were in, without any help amongst savages; but having found a good quantity of ammunition, with arms left in the fort, I thought the cause was not altogether desperate, and encouraged my men, by the hopes of a quick return of M. *La Salle*, and all other arguments that I could think on, not forgetting the glory they had gained by their fidelity, and the reward they might expect, if they supported this disgrace with courage. I took an exact account of the dammage we had sustained, and sent it to M. *La Salle*. I redoubled in the mean time my care and application to preserve our correspondence with the *Illinois*, and by these means we put our selves very near in as good a posture as before, the number of men excepted.

M. *La Salle* having received these dismal tidings, made a great search after those rogues, and pursued them so closely, that part of them surrendred themselves, and the rest were taken. He caused the most seditious to be hang'd, and pardon'd the rest. He sent the Messenger back to me, with a promise of a quick supply, and orders to tarry for him in the fort. A whole year however elapsed in this expectation, but our number being increased, by the arrival of some *French* men, and the conjunction of some savages, we would have wanted nothing at all, had not a sad and unforeseen accident disappointed our measures.

Our loss was hardly repaired, when we fell into a greater danger; for in the month of *September* 1687, we discovered, within a quarter of a league of the camp of the *Illinois*, about 600 *Iroquois* armed with bows, swords, halberds, and a great many of them with fire-arms. This unexpected army frighted the *Illinois*, and revived their suspicion of our correspondence with their enemies; and I must confess, I was in a great perplexity, knowing not what to do in so nice a juncture. However, having determin'd my self, I did whatever I could to encourage the *Illinois*, and told them that I would go to the camp of the *Iroquois*, and endeavour to bring them to terms; assuring them, that if I could not succeed, I would share the danger they were in; but that they had no time to lose, and therefore advis'd them to send their women and children away, and put themselves in good posture of defence. This proposal convinc'd them of the sincerity of our intentions, and therefore they gave me an interpreter, and one of their chief men to accompany me and be witness of my negotiation.

The army of the *Iroquois* divided into two bodies, and commanded by *Tagancourte*, chief of the *Tsonnontouans*, and *Agoustot*, chief of the *Desouatages*, two experienc'd generals. That of the *Illinois* was not 500 strong, and we were not upward of 25 *French* men amongst them, divided in their battalions, to incourage them by our example, and keep them in the best order we could. I parted from our army with my interpreter, an *Illinois*, and two *French* men, and advanced toward the *Iroquois*, whose left wing moved, at the same time, toward our right, where our men appeared very resolute, and prepar'd to make a vigorous defence.

As soon as I came near them, they shot at us, but by chance none was wounded, whereupon I sent back the *Illinois*, and the two *French* men,

taking upon my self all the peril attending such a deputation. As soon as I came at a convenient distance, I shewed a collar, it being the custom amongst the savages, to make all their proposals with collars, the same being the symbol of peace, union, and alliance. I advanced upon the public faith of the badge, but I was no sooner in the camp, but I was seized by those villains, one of whom took my collar, whilst another design'd to stab me with a knife, but it pleased God, that the knife slided along one of my ribs, which saved my life. The most rational, or rather the least brutish of 'em, rescued me from their hands, and after having stopt the blood with a kind of balsom, conducted me to the middle of their camp, with my interpreter; where they asked me the subject of my coming.

Tho' my strength was considerably abated by the loss of my blood, my courage was not cast down, neither was I daunted by their number and threats. I complained therefore, first of their unjust proceedings, and violation of their public faith; and then of their coming, without any provocation, to attack a nation, which was in confederacy, and under the protection of the king of *France*, my master; therefore I intreated them to return home, if they had any respect for that prince; and that they would look upon the *Illinois* as their friends, since they were so united with us, that whatsoever conspired their destruction, conspir'd our own. I told them besides, that they ought to consider the danger of their enterprise; the *Illinois* being about six hundred men, and the *French* above 200; and that my mediation and exhortation to peace, were not the effects of any fear we had for them; concluding, that I intreated them to make peace with the *Illinois* in the name of our king, and of Count *Frontenack* their father; and that I should not complain of the loss

of my blood, if I was so happy as to succeed in my negotiation.

While I was thus arguing, the two armies were skirmishing; and some time after, an *Iroquois* came to give advice to the general; that their right wing began to give ground, and that they had observed some *French* men among the *Illinois*, who had made a great fire upon them. This advice came very unluckily for me; for the savages were so incensed against me, that they presently talk'd of killing me. I was preparing my self to suffer every thing, but observing a young rash *Iroquois* standing behind me with razor in his hand, and knowing the custom of that cruel nation, which is to cut off their enemies' head, and then take off the hair and skin like a cap, which is amongst them the greatest trophy, I did not doubt but this young warrior had a great fancy to my hair, which he touched now and then, and lest he should do it too soon, I told him, that he ought, at least, to expect the orders of his masters. *Tagancourte* would have me put to death, but *Agoustot* being a particular friend of M. *La Salle*, opposed the other general, and by a kind of miracle, mercy, perhaps for the first time, prevail'd with this barbarous nation; and it was resolved to send me back to the *Illinois*, and tell them they were disposed to a sincere peace and union, giving me a fine collar of *porcelain*, as a token of their sincerity. They protested that they would for the future, live in peace with the *Illinois*, and look upon them as brethren, since they were children of the governour of *Canada*, which they did not know before.

The consideration of the danger I had escaped, cured me almost of my wound, and gave me sufficient strength to return to our camp. I met about half the way, father *Gabriel de la Ribonde*, and father *Zenoble Membré*, who almost despaired of

seeing me any more, and therefore could hardly express the joy they had for my happy return. We went together to the *Illinois*, to whom I delivered the message of the *Iroquois*, but advis'd them withal not to trust too much to their words and presents; for I could not perswade my self, that so cruel and ambitious a nation would return home without any other advantage but that of having made peace with the *Illinois*, whom they pretended to subdue; which was rather a dishonour, and therefore I lookt upon all their protestations as an artifice to surprize their enemies.

The *Illinois* were fully perswaded with what I told them, of the infidelity of the *Iroquois*; and yet they resolv'd to return the present by an embassie. They called, in the mean time, a Council, to take the necessary measures for their defence; but their young warriors being satisfy'd with the glory they had gain'd in the first attack, wherein they repulsed their enemies, would not venture a second fight, and most of them left their camp. The others being thus weakened by their desertion, ran away upon the approach of the *Iroquois*, who plundered their camp.

Being thus forsaken by our new confederates, we retir'd into our fort, but the *Illinois* being reinforc'd by fresh men, appeared again two days after, upon a rising ground in good order, and resolved to fight; whereupon the *Iroquois* thinking they were more numerous than at first, and having tryed their valour in the former attack, desir'd me to interpose my mediation for a peace, which I accepted; and they gave me one of their chiefs as an hostage. I went to the *Illinois* with father *Zenoble*, and told them the proposals of the *Iroquois*; and that I had brought one of their chiefs for hostage. The *Illinois* were very well pleased with my message, and assured me that they were

sincerely disposed to make peace with the *Iroquois;* then they gave me a full power to make it upon what terms I should please, and promis'd to send immediately an hostage for confirming what I should say. Both parties being so well disposed, I took some refreshment, and returned to the *Iroquois,* whom I told that I was empowered to treat with them, and desir'd that we might immediately enter upon the treaty.

They were pleased with it, and the hostage of the *Illinois* being arrived at the same time, confirm'd every thing that I had said, so that the treaty would have been concluded in few hours, had not the imprudence of this *Illinois* broken all my measures. This inconsiderate fellow began to praise the valour of his own nation, and their generals; but owned, that being hardly 400 men, they lookt upon their proposals of peace as a favour, which they would acknowledge by some presents of beavers and slaves. This foolish confession undeceived the *Iroquois,* who having believed what I had told them of the number of the *Illinois,* were glad to make peace, and in some fear of their enemies. They began then to speak very big, and complained in very hard words, I had deluded them, and done them a great injury, saying that they would have got a considerable booty, if they had not believed me.

I must confess I was put to a plunge, but having recovered my self, I answer'd, That what I had said before, and what the *Illinois* said then was true, for the *Illinois* were above 600 men upon their arrival, and at the first fight, but that a great number having deserted since that time, it may be that their number was reduced to 400. That I had no other intention but to bring both parties to a right understanding: That they were masters of the camp of their enemies, and might impose upon them what

conditions they pleased, since they offer'd themselves to buye the peace. They approved, or at least seemed to approve my reasons, and sent back the *Illinois*, to acquaint the chiefs of his nation; that they desir'd to see them the next day in their camp, to conclude the treaty.

They came accordingly the next morning, with a great quantity of beaver skins, and several slaves, which they presented to the *Iroquois*, who receiv'd them very kindly, and promis'd to restore them their camp and habitations, which they confirmed by some presents of three collars of porcelain and furrs. The first collar signifying that they begged pardon of the Governour of *Canada*, for having attacked a nation who was under his protection; the second signifying the same civility to M. *La Salle*; and by the third, the *Iroquois* swore an eternal alliance with the *Illinois*. These presents being mutually exchanged, both parties retired.

Whilst these two nations were giving each other mutual marks of a sincere reconciliation, I discover'd that the *Iroquois* were secretly making canoos, to follow the *Illinois* along the river, and exterminate them; and being asked by one of the chiefs of the *Illinois*, what I thought of their reconciliation? I told him very frankly, that the promises and words of that treacherous nation were not to be relyed upon; that I did not doubt but that the canoos which they were getting ready with so much secrecy, were designed against them; that therefore I advis'd them to retire into another country with their families, and fortifie themselves in some advantagious post, 'till the *Iroquois* were gone away. The *Illinois* approved of my advice, and went back to his nation, and I retired into our fort.

The *Iroquois* having considered how they had used me, thought fit to give us some satisfaction, and therefore on the 10th of *September*, eight days after

their arrival, they desir'd me and Father *Zenoble* to to come to their council, where being sat, they brought six packs of bever-skins, and told me, that their nation offer'd us those presents, and desir'd us to give the two first packs, in their name to Count *Frontenac* their father, and assure him that they would trouble no more the *Illinois*, knowing they were his children; that they gave me the third to serve me as a plaister for my wound; that the fourth was oil to rub our legs during our voyage. By the fifth, they exhorted us to worship the sun; and by the last, they required us to march away the next day, and retire to our *French* habitations.

I returned them our thanks, in the name of our nation, for the respects they had expressed for the Count *de Frontenac*, and Mr. *la Salle*, and for their good entertainment, and likewise for their oil and plaister, but I thought fit to ask them when they themselves designed to march away, and when they would restore that camp to the *Illinois*, according to their promise. This question did not please them, and after a general grumbling, they told me, that since I was so curious, they would satisfie me, and that they would depart, after having devour'd some of our brethren, or else some of the *Illinois*. As soon as I understood this answer, I thrusted back their present with my foot, and told them, that seeing they had such a design, I would accept none, adding withal, that I would march away without their order or leave, when I should think fit. The chiefs of the *Iroquois* having heard my reply, stood up, and told us that we might retire. There was amongst them one *Abenaguis*, with whom I had been acquainted, who told me, that they were very much angry with me, and advis'd us to retire with all the haste we could to our fort; which we did accordingly, and stood all the night

long upon our guard, being resolved to defend our selves to the utmost extremity.

When we saw our selves safe, Father *Zenoble* and I made several reflections, on the dissimulation and infidelity of that nation, and likewise on the dangers we had been exposed to in their council; and I remember that that good father blam'd my proceedings; and said, That in those nice occasions, we ought to be more pliant, in hopes to find a more favourable opportunity. I agreed with him in general, but insisted, that this principle admitted of some exceptions, and that assuredness and vigour were more prevailing upon barbarous men, than a more prudent way. In the mean time we advised what was fit to be done in this juncture; and being unable to defend us against so many enemies, we resolved to quit the fort the next day. I embarked the next morning with two *Recollects* and five *French* men; the others who were in the fort, having chosen to go and live among the *Illinois* rather than to return home.

Having equally divided our arms, ammunition, and goods, we embarked the eleventh of *September*, 1687, very early, and about five leagues from the fort, we went ashore to repair our canoo, and dry some furs, which the water would have spoiled. As we were busie about it, Father *Gabriel* told me that he would take a walk along the shore; and I advised him to keep in our sight, because we were surrounded with enemies; but the charming prospect of that country ingaged him a little too far, so that seeing he did not return, we began to mistrust that he was fallen into the hands of the savages. Father *Zenoble* and I advanced into the woods to look for him, but could not discover what was become of him, notwithstanding we fir'd our arms, and made all the night long a great fire to give him notice of the place where we expected him. We

understood since, that he was met by a band of savages called *Quicapous*, who murthered him, and sold, some time after, his breviary to a jesuit, from whom we learned these particulars. Thus dyed this holy man, in the seventieth year of his age, by the hands of those very men for the sake of whom he had left his native country, and suffer'd so many fatigues.

We waited for him 'till the next day about noon, but having no hopes of his return, we embarked again, and after one months navigation, landed within two days journey of the lake of the *Illinois*, into which we carried over land our equipage. We embarked again on the 20th of *October*, and ten days after, were forced to land, by contrary winds, within 20 leagues of a great village, called *Potavalamia*, where we found no other provisions but acorns.

I was sick of an ague, and my legs were so swoln, that we could not reach the village I have spoken of 'till the 10th of *November*. We found no body in it, nor any provisions, but having, by good chance, advanced into the country, we met with a good quantity of *Indian* corn, which enabled us to imbark again. The winds were so cross, that we were oblig'd to come a shore a few days after, where having found some fresh foot-steps, we followed the track, and came to another village of the *Pontoualamis*, which was likewise abandoned, but however afforded us some provisions, which were sufficient to maintain us 'till our arrival at the bay of *Puans*, which was towards the latter end of *November*.

Having already described this bay, I need not repeat it now, but I must add, that there is a creek in it called the creek of the sturgeons, because of the prodigious quantity of that sort of fish that is catch'd in it. We refreshed our selves in that

place for several days with the *Pontoualamis*, who entertained us with scorched beef and stagg. We diverted also our selves in hunting of beavers, which afforded us a great satisfaction.

The country about the bay, being watered by an infinite number of rivulets, lined with great trees, and the woods being full of aspen-trees, the branches and leaves whereof are the dainty food of beavers. Those creatures are very numerous in those parts.

The beavers are, as every body knows, amphibious creatures, who cannot live without air, water, and land. They are near as big as sheep, but not so tall, their legs being very short, but so nimble, that they come nothing short of apes for dexterity. They have a muzzle or nose, and strong teeth; their body is covered with thick hair, and pretty fine, but their tail is made up of a kind of twisted hair, which forms a figure like that of a triangle, and serves them as a trowel to beat the soft earth they make use of to build their habitations.

The instinct or industry of those creatures is almost incredible, and therefore I am sensible that many will question the truth of what I have to say about it, however, I may assure the reader that I do not romance in the least. When they have a mind to make a new settlement or habitation, and have found a proper place for it, which is commonly in the channel of a river, provided it be not too deep, or too broad, they look for a tree on the bank of the said river, leaning a little towards the water. They meet together in a circle, and because their number is always odd, it seems that they hold a council, to know what is fit to be done. The first thing to be done, is to cut down the tree they have pitched upon, but not horizontaly, but in such a manner that it may fall into the very place they have a mind to, that is cross the river, to stop, or at least to abate the rapidity of the stream. If the

branches hinder the body of the tree to lye in the water, they cut them likewise, and then make a perfect dike or bank with mud and gravel together, leaving now and then some places open for the water, lest the river should overflow their bank. If the tree cannot reach the other shore, they fell another tree over against it to join that, and make a perfect causey or bridge. This work being compleated, they build their habitations or caves near that place, and employ nothing but mud in the following manner; they lay a lay of it, and beat it very hard with their tails, and then another, and so on successively, 'till it is about three foot high; they arch it and polish it very handsomly, and divide it into three several apartments, which have communication one with the other; one of them is to lie in, the second for their provisions, and the third serves them for a necessary house. They make a canal or subterranean aqueduct from the river to one of their apartments, in which they have a kind of pond, wherein they hold their tail, for otherwise they could not live. This canal serves also for another use, for when they hear any noise, they make their escape through that place into the river. Every one is obliged to work, but if any one has his tail excoriated or otherwise hurt, he lays it flat upon his back, to show that he is unable to work.

When the savages go a hunting, they follow the rivers, and as soon as they discover any causey, bridge or bank, they may be sure that the beavers are not far off. They come as near as they can, but as soon as the beavers see or hear them, they run through their canal into the river; but as they must breath from time to time, the savages soon shoot them, if it be in summer time; for in winter they use another art to catch them. They make holes in the ice, and having beat out the beavers

from their habitations into the river, they must come to breath through those holes, and then the savages catch them alive by the tail.

Having refreshed our selves above ten days in this place, and taken in provisions, we embarked again on the seventeenth of *December* for *Missilimachinac*, but eight days after were forced back by a contrary wind. The savages were gone away, but had left some provisions, which we wanted very much; for the ice and the malady of our men obliged us to continue in that place, where we suffer'd very much. Finding our selves in that extremity, I advanced into the woods to endeavour to find some relief, and it pleased God that I met with two savages, of the nation of the *Outnovas*, who conducted me to a village belonging to the *Pontoualamis*, where we met several *French* men setled in that place, by whom we were kindly receiv'd, as also by the savages. Father *Zenoble* understanding that the jesuits had a settlement in the bottom of the bay, thought it was more becoming his character, to pass the winter amongst them, than in company of the savages, and went thither two days after our arrival; but we continued 'till the next spring in that place, and liv'd very comfortably.

We diverted our selves at hunting wild bulls in the beginning of *March*, the grass being already grown. Those bulls are near twice as big as ours, the hair looks like a fine fleece, and is very long; their horns are bent backwards, and extraordinary long; their eyes are likewise larger and bigger than those of our *European* bulls, which make them look terrible. They go always by droves of three or four hundred in each. When the savages go a hunting, they encompass a drove of these bulls, and one of them comes creeping as near as he can, and then stands up, making an out-cry, which frightens

away the whole drove; the savages being in a circle, they cannot escape without being shot; but as they become very fierce and dangerous when they are wounded, the savages shoot them in the thigh or the shoulder, to prevent their coming upon them, and when they are down, they break their heads with clubs. As they are excellent marksmen, they never miss, and twenty men will sometimes kill forty and fifty bulls.

That which is wonderful in this, is the havock, which the shot sent by the savages makes; for besides the exactness and swiftness of the stroke, the force of it is very surprizing, and so much the rather, because it is nothing else but a stone, or a bone, or sometimes a piece of very hard wood, pointed and fastened to the end of an arrow with some fishes-glue, that causes this terrible effect. When the savages go to war, they poison the point, or extremity of their dart, so that if that remains in the body, death follows of necessity; the only remedy in this case, is to draw out the arrow through the other side of the wound; if it goes quite thorough, or if not, to make an aperture on the other side, and so to draw it through; after which they know by instinct, certain herbs, the application of which both draws out the venom, and cures 'em.

I stayed all the month of *March* in this place: Father *Zenoble* came back to me at spring, and we re-embarking at the creek we had left, came to land at *Missilimachinac* in the begining of *April*, with a design to stay there for M. *de la Salle*. From the 11th of *September*, 1681, when we took our leaves of the *Illinois*, to the 1st of *April*, seven months were slipt away; during which time, M. *de la Salle*, upon the advice that I had given him by my letter, was come down to the *Illinois* with a good recruit, with intention to help us. The *Ire-*

quois having advice of his descent, and being afraid of being hemm'd in between two armies, were retired, and the *Illinois* were again entered into their possessions. However, M. *de la Salle* found but some few, the rest being gone to winter in the woods; he exhorted those that remained to call their country-men, assuring them he would build a fort that should shelter them from the invasion of their enemies; he visited the fort of *Crevecœur*, which was still in the same condition, and placed therein a small garrison of fifteen or sixteen *French*, and a commander, with ammunition and arms. After this, he went again up the river to the great village, whither many families of the *Illinois* were returned; he laboured hard upon the inclosure of his new fort, and having understood by some scouts, that I had taken my way towards *Missilimachinac*, he set forward again to join me, having left some soldiers and pioneers at the intended fort, to continue his work and defend that post.

He came not to *Missilimachinac* 'till about the fifteenth of *August*, in the year 1682. There we took new measures to perfect the discovery we had begun. We must needs think forthwith of making some new provision for so long a voyage. It was with this design, that after six days rest, M. *de la Salle* set out in a canoo for *Frontenac*, father *Zenoble* and I going along with him; having sailed happily the first day, we landed at a village called *Trejagou*, belonging to the *Iroquois*. M. *de la Salle* traficked there with some skins, and having ordered me to stay for him there, with father *Zenoble*, he went on board the *canoo* for *Frontenac*. There he found his bark ready, and stored her with abundance of ammunition and provisions; he listed there some new souldiers, and eight days after, sent me his bark laden with fresh men, good merchandise, and such things as were most necessary.

The father and I went on board, and landed the first day at *Niagara*, below the fall of the river; there we were forced to put our baggage and merchandise upon sledges, and so conduct them to the lake *Herié*, where we re-embark'd in a canoo to the number of twenty persons, as well souldiers as mariners, together with our best merchandise. After three days sail, we landed at the side of the river of the *Miamis*, where having lodg'd our selves in huts, I had time to reassemble there some *French* and some savages, *Abenaquis*, *Loups*, *Quicapous*, and others. There I augmented our provisions by hunting, and I barter'd some of our commodities for *Indian* corn.

There it was that M. *de la Salle* came to rejoin us towards the end of *November*; the day of his arrival we fell down the river of the *Miamis* in a canoo, to the mouth of another river named *Chicacou*; and we went up it again to a small harbour which is but a league from the great river of the *Illinois*. Having put on shore in this place, we passed the night with a very great fire; for the cold was so sharp that the next day the rivers were froze and unnavigable. We were oblig'd then to have recourse to the sledge, to carry our baggage to the village of the *Illinois*, where we found things in the same state that M. *de la Salle* had left them; only the village was better peopled; which gave us opportunity to defer our intrigues a little, and to renew our provisions.

The rivers being still block'd up with ice, we found our selves oblig'd to begin again our journey by land; the third day of *January*, 1683, we had push'd on our way to thirty leagues below. There the weather grew mild, and the ice melted, so that navigation appearing commodious, we went on board a canoo, the twenty-fourth of *January*,

and fell down the river of the *Illinois*, to the river *Mississipi*, where we arrived the second of *February*.

The river of the *Illinois*, reckoning from its first carriage to its disemboguing into the river, is at least 160 leagues navigable. The adjacent parts are as pleasant as fruitful; one sees there animals of all sorts, stags, hinds, linces, wild bulls, goats, sheep, hares, and infinite more, but few beavers. As to the trees, they are nothing but forests of high trees, with great walks, which seem drawn by a line; besides elms, beech, plane-trees, cedars, walnut and chesnut-trees; one sees there whole plains covered over with pomgranate-trees, orange-trees, and lemmon-trees; and in one word, with all kind of fruit-trees.

In many places there are to be seen large vines, whose tendrels being twisted about the branches of huge trees, bear bunches of grapes of an extraordinary bigness.

Being embarked upon the *Mississipi*, we followed the course of this great river; six leagues from the mouth of the river *Illinois*, we met with that of the *Ozages*, the banks of which, and places thereabouts, are no less agreeable and fertile; 'tis true, its water carries so great a quantity of mud along with it, as to change that of the *Mississipi*, and make it all muddy for more than twenty leagues. Its brinks are bordered with great walnut-trees: one sees there an infinite number of foot-steps made by the beavers; and the hunting for them there is very great and common. Going up towards its source, its banks are inhabited by savages, who trade much in skins; we passed one night at the mouth of this river.

The next day, after we had sailed ten leagues, we came to the village of the *Tamaoas*, where we met with no body at all, the savages being retired

into the woods to winter; we made there however some marks to let 'em know that we had pass'd by. After that, continuing our voyage, we arrived after a course of three days, at the mouth of the river of the *Ouabachi*, that comes from the *east*, and throws it self into the *Mississipi*, eighty leagues from that of the *Illinois*: it is by this river that the *Iroquois* come to make war upon the nations of the *south*. In this place we lay in huts one night, and after a course of sixty leagues, following still our great river, we came to land at a bank inhabited by savages, who are called *Chicacha*. Here it was that we lost a *French*-man of our company, named *Preudhomme*. The search we made for him during nine days, gave us an opportunity of discovering several nations, and of building a fort in this place, to serve as a rest and habitation for the *French* in that fine country.

During this interval, two of our hunters met with two of the savages *Chicacha*, who offer'd to conduct 'em into their village. Our men, led by a spirit of curiosity, follow'd them; they were very well received, and after laden with presents, and were intreated by the principal among them, to procure that our commander will honour them with a visit. Our people being very well satisfied with their reception, made their report of it to M. *de la Salle*, who the next day went himself with ten of his company; he received there all the good treatment that could be expected from people the most civiliz'd; and had no trouble to inspire 'em with sentiments of submission and obedience to the king. These savages also consented freely to the finishing of our fort.

This nation is very numerous, and is able to furnish out two thousand men; they have all faces flat like plates, which is reckoned among them for

a stroke of beauty; it is for this reason they take care to make the visage of their children flat with tablets of wood, which they apply to their foreheads, and gird very hard with bands: all these nations to the sea shore give themselves this figure. Every thing is very plentiful with them; corn, fruits, grapes, olives, tame hens, *Indian* hens, bustards, &c. M. *de la Salle* having received such good refreshment there, and having made 'em by way of acknowledgment, a present of some knives and hatchets, he returned to his own people. At last, after nine days expectation, *Preudhomme*, who had lost himself in the woods, where he had lived upon nothing but wild fowl, found us again; M. *de la Salle* entrusted him with the care of finishing the fort, which he called after his name, and gave him the command of it; after which he took his course upon the same river towards the end of the month of *February*.

We were three days without disembarking; the fourth after having made fifty leagues, we came to a village of the *Cappa*:* we had scarce set foot on land, but we heard a drum beat; forthwith fancying we saw the enemy at our heels, we threw our selves into our canoos, and went over to the other side; and so we immediately made a redoubt to secure ourselves from any surprize.

The savages came to view us in a canoo; we sent some of our men to 'em, to present them with the *Calumet*; they accepted it freely, and at the same time offered themselves to conduct us to their habitations, and promised us all manner of assistance. M. *de la Salle* was very ready to go thither; in the mean time one of the two savages went before, to give notice of our arrival to those of his own nation. Their prince, accompanied with some of the chief of 'em, came forward to receive us. As soon as he saw M. *de la Salle*, he

saluted him in a very grave and respectful manner; offer'd him any thing that depended upon him or his nation, and taking him by the hand, led him towards his cottage. M. *de la Salle* walking along with him, testified to him how sensible he was of his civilities, and let him understand his design and intentions, which tended to nothing else but the glory of the true God, and to make known to him the power of the *French* king. Being arrived at the village, we saw a very great multitude of people, in the midst of whom were some archers drawn up in a line. The prince making a little halt, declared to all the assembly, that we were sent by the king of *France*, to discover *North America*, and to receive its people under his protection. Then there follow'd a general acclamation, by which the people seem'd to testifie their joy: As soon as the prince had assur'd M. *de la Salle* of the perfect submission of all his people to the orders of the king, he conducted him into his cottage, and gave him, and those of his company, all the good treatment possible. Besides this he made him very considerable presents, namely, abundance of *Indian* corn, and other necessary provisions, with which M. *de la Salle* was very well satisfied, as well as with all his other civilities. This nation was scarce any thing of savage; they give judgment according to their laws and customs; every one there enjoys his own goods in particular.

Eight leagues from hence are the *Akancéas*, whose land is above sixty leagues over: They are divided into several villages, almost at equal distances. The *Cappa* gave us two guides to carry us to the first, which they call *Togengan*; it stands upon the bank of a river, and there we were very well received. Two leagues from this town, we fell down in a canoo to that of *Torimani*; and six leagues from this last, to another called *Ozo-*

toni. We were equally well received in every place; and as our arrival had already made a noise in all the country, we found a very numerous assembly of people in this place, which caused M. *de la Salle* to set up the arms of the king, with a shot of our artillery. The noise and fire of our arms impress'd such a respect upon all the multitude, and threw 'em into such a consternation, that the prince, on the part of his nation, swore to us an inviolable alliance. This climate and that of the *Cappa* is the same; it is about the 34th degree of latitude. The country throughout does generally abound in grain, fruits, and wild fowl of all sorts. The temperature of the air is wonderful, there is never any snow to be seen, and but very little ice: Their cottages are built of cedar, all matted within: They have no determin'd worship; they adore all sorts of animals, or rather they worship but one divinity, which discovers its self in a certain animal, such as it shall please their *jongleur*, or priest, to pitch upon; so that it will be sometimes an ox, sometimes a dog, or some other. When this visible god is dead, there is an universal mourning; but which is presently changed into a great joy, by the choice they make of a new mortal deity, which is always taken from amongst the brutes.

About sixty leagues below this nation, are the *Taencas*, a people that give place to none in *America*, either for force or beauty of climate. The *Akancéas* gave us guides to conduct us thither, and going on board a canoo, we still follow'd the course of the great river. After our first days voyage, we began to see some crocodiles along the brink; they are in a very great number upon these banks, and of a prodigious bigness, some being twenty or thirty foot long. To see so monstrous an animal, who would believe that it comes into the world but like a chicken, being hatch'd of an egg! only it is ob-

served, that it grows as long as it lives. We took notice that they fled when we pursu'd 'em, and that when we fled they pursu'd us; we dispersed them with our fusees, and killed some of 'em. The day following, being arriv'd over against the first village of the *Taencas*, M. *de la Salle* sent me to the prince, to give him notice of his arrival, and gave me two guides of the *Akancéas*, and two *Abenaguis* to be my interpreters.

As this village stands on the other side of a lake, which is eight leagues in circumference, and half a league over, we were forced to take a canoo to cross it, which we perform'd in two hours. As soon as we landed, I was surpriz'd to see the grandure of the village, and the order of the cottages; they are plac'd in divers rows, and in a streight line, round about a large space, being all made of earth, and covered over with mats of cane: We presently took notice of two fairer than the rest, one was the prince's palace, the other the temple; each of them was about forty foot square, the walls ten foot high, and two foot thick; the roof, in the form of a cupilo, was cover'd with a mat of divers colours: Before the prince's palace stood a dozen men armed with half-pikes. As soon as we came up, an old man addressed himself to me, and taking me by the hand, led me into a great square hall, the floor and sides of which were covered with a very fine mat; at the further end of the hall, over against the entrance, was a very handsome bed, with curtains of a fine stuff, made and woven of the bark of mulberry-trees. We saw the prince of this people upon this bed, as upon his throne, in the middle of four handsome women, and encompassed with above sixty old men, armed with bows and arrows; they were all cloath'd with very fine white garments; that of the prince was adorned with certain tufts of wool of different colours; the rest

were all plain. The prince had upon his head a diadem of woven rushes, very curiously wrought, and enriched with large pearls, and rais'd with a plume of various feathers; all that were about him were bare-headed: the women were dress'd in cloaths of the same stuff; they had upon their heads little rush hats, adorned with several feathers, and had all necklaces of pearl, and fine ear-pendants of the same; they had bracelets of woven hair, and several other jewels which set off their attire: they were not quite black, but brown, their visages something flat, their eyes black, sparkling, and pretty large; their shape fine and free; and they all appear'd to me of a smiling and very pleasant air.

Being surpriz'd, or rather charm'd, with the beauties of this savage court, I address'd my speech to the venerable prince, and spoke to him in the name of M. *de la Salle.* That having the honour to be sent by the king of *France,* the most potent of all the kings upon earth, to make a discovery of all the nations of *America,* and to invite them to live under the government of so great a prince; we came to offer them our friendship and protection; to which the upper countries had all freely submitted: that if we did pretend to settle ourselves in the country, it was not so much to bring them under a rigorous yoke, as to maintain for them, by the power of our arms, what was already in their possession; and to impart to them our rarest arts and our wealth: not so much to spoil them of their treasures, as to teach them a more advantageous way of using them. Not to usurp their territories, but put them in a way to cultivate and improve them, and to instruct them in our commerce. In short, not to become their lords and masters, but to establish a brotherly friendship with them.

The prince all this while hearken'd with great attention, (and one of our *Abenaguis* having given him to understand what I said,) embraced me, and, with a smiling countenance, told me, that after the account I had given him of our great monarch, he could not but conceive the greatest respect and veneration for him; that he should the next day see M. *de la Salle*, and that he would give him more particular assurances of it. Whereupon I presented him in M. *de la Salle's* name, with a sword inlaid with gold and silver, some cases of razors, cizars, and knives, and some bottles of *aqua vitæ*. I cannot express the joy and satisfaction he receiv'd these small presents with. But I took notice, at the same time, that one of his wives, who had a pair of the cizars in her hand, admir'd very much the neatness of the work, and would now and then give me a smile, which I fancied might be a modest way of asking me for a pair too. I took an opportunity to draw near to her, and pulling out of my pocket a small steel case of filligreen-work, wherein was a pair of cizars, and a little tortoise-shell knife, and pretending to admire the whiteness and fineness of her garment, I slipt the case into her hand, and she received it, squeezing my hand pretty hard, which gave me reason to think, that these women have not hearts altogether so savage, but that they might easily be tamed by us, and taught the politer arts of conversation. Another of the company, who was not less pretty, and neatly accoutred, drawing nearer to us, gave me to understand by the thorns she shewed me, which she made use of to fasten her train, that some pins would be very acceptable to her. I gave her a paper of 'em, together with a case of needles and a silver thimble. These little trinkets she received with a wonderful joy; and then I gave as much to the two others. She who was the

finest and most agreeable of 'em, having taken notice that I admir'd a collar of large pearl that she had about her neck, took it off, and made an offer of it to me, with abundance of civility. I refus'd it a good while, but reflecting upon the plenty of pearls that is among them, and that the fishing for 'em was in the seas thereabouts, I made no further difficulty, and after a few more offers, I accepted of it. But, in return, I gave her ten yards of blew ribbon, which she valued at least at as high a rate.

The night now drawing on, I was going to take my leave of the prince, but he very earnestly desired me to stay 'till the next day, and gave the charge of me to an officer, to let me want for nothing. I did not want much courtship, and the desire I had to see a little of their manners and behaviour, made me readily enough accept of the kind offer. I was conducted into an apartment furnished much after the rate of that the prince was in. There they brought me a collation of wild-fowl, and fruit, and some liquors, of which I tasted. All that while there was an old gentleman with me, who was very good company, and especially because he resolved me all the questions I put to him. As for what concerns their politicks, he informed me that they were intirely govern'd by their prince's absolute will. That they obey'd him as their soveraign; that they own'd his children his lawful successors; that when he died, they sacrificed his first or chief wife, the first steward, and twenty men of his nation, to be his retinue and wait upon him in the other world. That during his life, no man drunk in his cup, nor cat out of his dish, or walk'd as he was passing by; that care was always taken, not only to clean the way for him, but also to strew it with sweet herbs and flowers. I observ'd in that little time I was in

his presence, that when he spoke to any body, they made a loud kind of humming before they answer'd him; and I begg'd this old gentleman to tell me the reason of it; he told me that this was lookt upon as a token of admiration and respect. As to their religion, he told me that they worship the sun; that they had their temples, their altars, and their priests. That in that temple, there was a fire which burnt perpetually, as the proper emblem of the sun. That at the decrease of the moon, they carried a great dish of their greatest dainties to the door of the temple, as an oblatory sacrifice; which the priests offer'd to their god, and then they carried it home, and feasted themselves with it.

As to their customs, every spring they go in a body to some retir'd place, and there turn up a large space of land, which they do with the drums beating all the while. After this, they take care to call it the *desart*, or *the field of the spirit.* And thither they go in good earnest, when they are in their enthusiastick fits, and there wait for inspiration from their pretended Deity. In the mean while, as they do this every year, it proves of no small advantage to them, for by this means they turn up all their land insensibly, and it becomes abundantly more fruitful. In autumn they gather their *Indian* corn, and they keep it in great baskets 'till the new moon in the next month of *June:* then the families get together, and every one invites his friends and neighbours to come and eat cakes, and some meat they get likewise; and thus they spend the day in feasting.

This is all I could learn that day of their religion, their government, and customs. The next day I had the curiosity of seeing their temple, and the old gentleman had me thither. The structure of it was exactly the same with that of the prince's house. As to the out-side, it is encompassed with

a great high wall, the space betwixt that and the temple forming a kind of court, where people may walk. On the top of the wall are several pikes to be seen, upon which are stuck the heads of their own most notorious criminals, or of their enemies. On the top of the frontispiece, there is a great knob raised, all covered round with hair, and above that, an heap of scalps in form of a trophy.

The inside of the temple is only a *Nave*, painted on all sides, at top with all sorts of figures; in the midst of it is an hearth instead of an altar, upon which there is continually three great billets burning, standing up on end; and two priests drest in white vestments, are ever looking after it, to make up the fire and supply it. It is round this that all the people come to say their prayers, with strange kind of hummings. The prayers are three times a day; at sun rise, at noon, and at sun set. They made me take notice of a sort of closet cut out of the wall, the inside of which was very fine: I could see only the roof of it, on the top of which there hung a couple of spread eagles, which look'd towards the sun. I wanted to go into it; but they told me it was the tabernacle of their God, and that it was permitted to none but their high priest to go into it. And I was told that this was the repository of their wealth and treasures; as pearls, gold and silver, precious stones, and some goods that came out of *Europe*, which they had from their neighbours.

After I had seen all these curiosities, I took my leave of all those that were with me, and went back with my two interpreters, to M. *de la Salle*, to whom I gave a faithful account of the good entertainment I had received from the Prince of the *Tacucas*; of his magnificence, and especially of his good inclinations to acknowledge the king's

authority. Some time after we saw him coming towards us, in a very magnificent barge, with drums beating, and the women that attended him playing on several instruments; some of them were in his own barge, some in others that went along by the side of it. M. *de la Salle* received him in a respectful manner, and yet with that gravity as best became him, considering the character he bore. He thanked him for the honour he did him, and told him he did not receive it but in the name of the prince his master; and that as he did not doubt but he was willing to acknowledge his power, so he might safely assure him of his royal friendship and protection. The Prince of the *Tacuca's* made answer, that what he had heard of the grandure of the *French* king, and of the valour of his subjects, would not permit him to hesitate, in paying him in person the hommage which he was perswaded was due to him whom he represented; and that tho' he was a soveraign, he chearfully submitted to our great king's power; and that he should be glad to merit our alliance and protection by his services. After these mutual protestations of friendship, they made each other their presents. M. *de la Salle* presented him with two pieces of ribbon, and some trinkets for his wives. The prince gave him six of his richest robes, a collar of pearl, a *piroque* or barge filled with ammunition and provision; after which, there was brought a dozen of bottles of *aqua vitæ*, prepar'd with sugar and almonds, and apricock kernels. Then the king's health was drunk, with a discharge of all our guns, after that of the Prince of the *Tacuca's* in like manner; after which he went again into his *piroque*, and went away very well satisfied.

We continued all that day on that shore, where we took the altitude, and found our selves at the 25th degree of latitude, the next day being the

22d of *March* 1693, we went and lay ten leagues off.

M. *de la Salle* perceiving a *piroque* that made up towards us, to see what we were, gave me orders to chase it; which I did; but as I was just going to lay hold of her, above a hundred men straight appeared on the shore, with their bows ready to shoot us. M. *de la Salle*, with loud calling after me, made me stop; and being come back to his company again, we went all and stood over against them with our muskets ready presented. This posture of ours frighted them, and made them lay down their arms; and I was immediately ordered to go and carry them the *calumet*. Being come up to them, I offer'd them the collar of peace; they accepted it very civilly; they embraced me, and gave me to understand, that they would be friends with us. M. *de la Salle* seeing in what an obliging manner they had received me, came to join us on the same shore; and as soon as those savages perceived him to be our chief, they paid him all kind of honours and respect. He told them that he did not require any thing from them, but a chearful acknowledgment and submission to our great king's orders; to which he added, for their encouragement, the example of the other greater nations, and made use of the arguments he before used on like occasions. They answer'd him, that they had their prince, and that they could determine nothing without his orders, and offer'd either to bring him to us, or to conduct us to his dwelling. M. *de la Salle*, who was always glad of an opportunity of seeing the situation, manners, and faculty of those nations, chose the latter. Their village was four great leagues off from the shore. We were no sooner come into it, but the prince came to receive us: he had us into his cottage, where he treated us very handsomly, it was the prince of the

nation of the *Naches*. This people is divided into two provinces; this was the least of the two. Their territories are seldom above twenty leagues compass, and their greatest revenues is the pearl fishery which they have in the sea about them.

There is a great many divers of that nation, who dive to the bottom of the water, and fetch up these precious shells from the lowermost part of the rocks. On a fair day you may see the shells on the rocks open themselves to receive the dew of Heaven. Which dew breeds the first seeds of the pearl within the shells, which appear like little white grain that sticks fast to the shell. These small soft grains do in time become hard and white, as we see they are. It is observ'd that the pearls which are fetch'd from the bottom of the sea, are fairer than those which are found on the rocks, because the sun tarnishes these, and the thunder is destructive to their seeds.

This little prince presented M. *de la Salle* with some dozens of 'em, of a considerable bigness; and in return, we gave him a hatchet, a kettle, and some knives. They gave us besides these, some provisions; and having staid there the whole day, we went away the next, very well satisfied with each other. They gave us a couple of guides, to show us the way into the other nation of the same name, which is ten leagues farther in the country. In the mean time M. *de la Salle* sent two of our men to carry some fresh provisions to those that waited for us by the water side, together with orders to fall ten leagues lower down the river, and to stay for him there.

Thus we went under the conduct of our guides, and came that night to the great village of *Naches*. This nation is able to set out three thousand men in any time of war. Their land is very well cultivated, and bears *Indian* corn, all sorts of fruit-trees,

olive trees, and vines. There are vast meadows to be seen there; vast forests, and all sorts of cattle; fishing and hunting being all their employment and their wealth.

The prince received us with a great deal of joy; made us a great many presents both of pearl and provisions, and treated us very generously. The next day we planted there the king's arms, giving a volley of shot; after which we took our leaves of the prince, who assured us of his intire submission; and we went to meet our men with new provisions.

Being got aboard our canoos, we went forward, and about eight leagues off, we came to the village *Coroas*, where the prince receiv'd us as the rest had done, and paid homage.

The next day, being the 27th of *March*, 1683, we planted our huts at the mouth of a great river, which comes from the *west*, and is called *La Sablonniere;* ten leagues from hence, as we continued our course, we found the river divide it self into three channels; I took the right-hand-stream, M. *de la Forest* took the left, and M. *de la Salle* the middle way; we follow'd each our course for about ten leagues, and in a little time after, we found ourselves rejoin'd by the uniting of the three streams again into one. We were hardly got together again, and gone forward five or six leagues, but we espied some fisher-men by the water side, who were *Quinipissa's*. As soon as they saw us come near, they alarmed all the rest of their men, and straight the drum fell a beating, and the shore was in an instant lined with savages, all armed with bows and arrows; we were willing to send four *French* men to treat with 'em, but they were severely sent back by a shole of arows; after which, four of our savages offer'd to go to see what they could do, but they were used in like manner; in

so much that M. *de la Salle*, not willing to run any further risque here, he bid us leave them in quiet, and trouble our selves no further with them.

Twelve leagues from the *Quinipissa's*, we fell to the right, on the village call'd *Tangibao;* we found it pillag'd, sack'd, and a great heap of dead bodies one upon another. This sight struck a mighty horrour in us, and concluding that it was not good staying there, we went on; and about ten leagues further, we begun to find the water brackish; the shore seemed somewhat more extended, and all strewed with shells of different shape and figure, some like drinking cups, some like snails ending in a spiral point, and all of a most agreeable variety of colours. We kept on still, and after an hours sailing, we put our selves into a canoo, and kept along the coast, the better to take our observation of the shore, and so came back to land at the river's mouth.

This was on the seventh of *April*, 1683. The first thing we then took care to do, was to return our humble thanks to Almighty God, for our good success, and for that he had carried us in safety to the end of our voyage, after more than eight hundred leagues, sailing and rowing with so small a handful of men, and so little ammunition; and that through so many barbarous nations, which we had not only discover'd, but in some measure made subject to us. We sung the *Te Deum;* after which, taking our canoos, and our equipage upon sledges, we went and planted our huts a little above the shore, to be out of the reach of the sea, which wholly overflows it, after six hours ebb, during which it's left quite dry.

Having pitched here our new camp, we fastened a cross to the top of a large tree, and set up the arms of *France:* After which we raised three or four huts more, and entrenched our selves there. Then M. *de la Salle* took the altitude, to know

where the mouth of the *Mississipi* was. The *Spaniards*, who had attempted to find it out, tho' in vain, had already given it the name of *Del Rio Asconlido*. According to M. *de la Salle's* calculation, it is between the twenty-second and twenty-third degree of latitude; that it throws itself into the gulph of *Mexico*, with a large channel which is twenty leagues wide, and very deep and navigable.

M. *de la Salle* would be a little acquainted with its shores, before he would leave them. It is certain that they are not fit to be inhabited, by reason of the frequent inundations by the spring-tides, and the barrenness of the shore; there is nothing but canes and reeds, and woods overthrown. But about a league and a half within the country, it is the most pleasant in the world, fine large meadows, fair woods full of mulberry-trees, nut-trees, and chesnut-trees. The fields are covered with all sorts of fruit trees, as orange, lemmon, pomegranate, and the sides of the hills with vines, and the fields bear *Indian* corn twice a year. We saw in all their ponds and rivers vast quantities of water-fowl; geese, ducks, and teal, moor-hens, &c. and in the woods and fields, partridges, pheasants, quails, and other kind of fowl; of four footed creatures all sorts, especially one large sort of oxen, which they call *cibola's*; these are much larger than any hath been mention'd, and are raised like a cammel from the chine to the middle of the back; they feed among the canes, and go together sometimes no less in number than fifteen hundred. They hunt them after a particular manner. When they are in the midst of these canes, where there is no coming at them, the savages get round about them, and set fire to 'em in several places, especially when the wind is something high, which makes at first a mighty smoke, which turns all of a sudden into a flame, and this strikes so great a terror into the herd, that they all disperse themselves, and the savages, who lie in

wait upon trees, shoot some with arrows, some with bullets, and make an incredible slaughter among them. By good fortune, the savages, *Taugibao*, *Quinipissas*, and *Naches*, had been a hunting when we were there, (for they always join when they hunt them,) and they left us three fine large ones, which we seiz'd, and having drest them, they feasted us all for three days, and we had some left the day we went away from thence.

M. *de la Salle*, having a mind to go and give an account of his discoveries to Count *Frontenac*, and to confirm the nations he had gone through in the good esteem of us, resolved to go up the same river back again to the *Illinois*, and thence for the lakes, in order to get to *Quebeck*, and from thence to set sail for *France*, and give the court a true account of his success.

The eleventh of *April* of the same year, 1683, we got in a canoo on the said river; we were about sixty of us. As this river divides it self into three channels, about fifty leagues from the sea, we came the first day to the place where they met together, and in six days after that, to the point where it divides it self: There our victuals failing, it was highly necessary to look about us. The first relief we met with, were some crocodiles; we kill'd two of 'em in a little while, that were pretty large: The flesh of them is good, white, firm, and very well tasted. It is as firm as tunny, and near in taste to salmon, and we feasted on it for some days. The stream of our river began now to grow stronger against us, so that we were forced to get on shore, and use our sledges, as far as *Quinipissa's*. As this people had given us a scurvey welcome as we came down, we were forced to consult how we should do to make them a little more tractable, wherefore we sent two *Abenaguis*, and two *Loups* towards them. They met with four women only.

which they brought to us that night. This prize pleased us very well, hoping that by their means, we should best compass our designs. We used those women with all the civility and prudence imaginable; and being come near to their village, the next morning we sent one of them home with some small presents, to shew that we did not come in an hostile manner, only wanted their friendship, and what was chiefly necessary, some recruits of our provisions. She shewed them all the little gewgaws we had given her, and related to them what good entertainment she had received from us, and what designs we came upon. Immediately they sent four of the chief of their nation to us, who brought along with them some provisions, and invited us to come and be merry with them. We then restored the three women into their hands, and we came nearer to them, but still standing upon our guard. When we were come into their village, they presented us some of their fruits, and some water-fowl pretty well drest. After this refreshment, we retired about a hundred paces from them, and lodged in our huts that night, between the village and the river. By break of day these treacherous rogues surrounded, and attacked us: but they mist of their aim; for we had set sentinels all that night, and with their first approach, we were prepared to receive them. We killed five or six the very first blow, upon which the rest fled; and we pursued them a little way, and having killed three or four more, we thought that was enough, and we took their scalps with us to serve for a trophy.

From thence we went forward to the *Naches*; we had hid some *Indian* corn there, as we went down, and we found it again in very good condition. The prince came straightway to receive us; M. *de la Salle*, after the first compliments pass'd,

presented him with the scalps of the *Quinipissa's* we had brought with us, who were his greatest enemies. Which made it the more grateful, and served to shew him that we were not men to be fool'd with.

The first thing he did, was to give order for something to be fetch'd to refresh us; which we freely accepted of. All this while we observed that we saw no women in the village, which made us suspect some roguery. Notwithstanding we kept eating and drinking, and never seem'd to take any notice of any thing, but we kept our arms all the while. A little while after we spied a great number of men in arms drawing towards us, and we in an instant put our selves in a posture of defence. But the prince bid us fear nothing, and assured us that we never needed to entertain any suspicion of them; he went up to 'em and commanded them to halt. After which, he told us, that it was a party of his men who had been against the *Iroquois*, but that they for their own part were resolved ever to maintain a firm friendship with us. His words he confirmed by some presents that followed, as also some provisions, which we heartily and thankfully received, leaving them, by way of return, some of our canoos, which indeed were but cumbersome to us; and that we came off safe and sound, but we attributed our safety to our care and watchfulness.

After this, we continued our course toward the *Tacuca's*, and the *Akancéa's*, who received us very handsomly at our landing.

Thus, passing through so many different nations, we made tryal of the faithfulness of some, and the treachery of others; and by a due mixture of mildness and severity, and a constant care, we did not only frustrate their designs, and avoid their

ambush, but we brought them to terms, and made them submit to us.

On the twelfth of *May*, 1683, we left the *Akancéa's*, and pushed forward to the mouth of the river of the *Illinois;* after which we went on along the shore, quite up to the fort *Preudhomme*, where M. *de la Salle* fell dangerously ill. Father *Gabriel* staid with him, with a good many of his men; and I was commanded to go with twenty of his men to *Missilimachinac* to look after his affairs. I left him there the fifteenth of *May*.

I went the first day to lie at *Ouabaches;* where I was made very welcome.

Twenty leagues further, I met with some *Iroquois*. These savages, who are the most barbarous of all others, are sneakingly submissive when their party is the weakest, but most unmerciful when they have an advantage. There was but five of them that met us; and they told us we should not go far e're we should meet a company of above four hundred men well armed. This advice made us take care to stand upon our guard, for truly it is not very safe to fall into the hands of these barbarous people when they march in a body. We had not gone a quarter of a league, but we spied a little army, which we took at first to be *Iroquois*, but they were *Tavaroa's* who had joined themselves with some *Illinois*. They seeing our firearms, took us for *Iroquois*, and were going to surround us, with a design to burn us, for that is the usual way of dealing with those barbarous fellows, whensoever they get any of them; so great is the abhorrence which all nations have against them. But the *Illinois* having discovered who we were, they unbent their bows, and gave us part of their provisions. We pursued our road to the river *Chicacou*, and after twenty days journey, we at length arrived at *Missilimachinac*, in the beginning

of *July;* where we staid for M. *de la Salle,* who came and joined us in *September* the same year. He stayed there but three days to give some necessary orders. He gave me the command of fort St. *Louis,* with orders to see it finished, and a full power to dispose of the lands adjacent, and left all his men under me, except six *French* men he took with him to *Quebeck.* We went away the same day, he for *Canada,* I for the *Illinois.*

I went directly to *Miamis,* at the head of forty men, *French* and savages. I came to it on the 6th of *January,* 1684, and visited the fort, which was in a very good condition. There I left ten of my men well armed, and pursuing my journey, I got by the end of the month to fort St. *Louis.* I set men at work about it immediately, and in less than two months time I compleated it. Presently after this, I invited all the neighbouring nations to come to it.

There needed no great pains or art to get them thither. The beauty of the country, the fruitfulness of the land, the conveniency of a fine navigable river; the nearness of about a hundred different nations, and of those little lakes, or rather little seas, which make it a fit seat of commerce for all *North America;* and reach from the river St. *Laurent* to the gulf of *Mexico.* In short, the advantageous scituation of this fort, which was design'd as a bulwark for all the nations that should come to settle there, against all irruptions of the barbarous nations, was a sufficient invitation and inducement to them to come and dwell there. So that in a little time, there was above five hundred huts made up, and in less than two months, there was a wonderful great concourse of people of all nations. By this it is easie to be seen with how little difficulty the savages might be tamed and polished, by planting here and there some colonies

of *Europeans*. For how few soever they be, they are as it were a ciment of concord and civil society amongst the most barbarous nations.

In the mean while M. *de la Salle* being arriv'd at *Quebeck*, had the dissatisfaction not to meet with M. *la Comte de Frontenac*, for he had been re-manded to *France* by an order from court, and was gone thither. After his arrival, he did not fail to acquaint all the city with the discoveries he had made, and with the news of so many nations yielding themselves subject to the king's power. The *Te Deum* was sung, as an acknowledgment of this happy addition of glory and honour to the crown. The earnest desire which M. *de la Salle* had to go to give the king and his ministers an account of the success of his travels, made him hasten his departure. He went from *Canada* in the beginning of *October*, 1684. But before he set sail, he sent the Chevalier *de Bogia* to me, as a person that had been highly recommended to him. He came to me to St. *Louis's* fort. I received him as well as I could, and gave him the best entertainment that my condition would permit me.

On the twentieth of *March*, in the same year, having received advice that the *Iroquois*, being jealous of our new establishment, were coming against us with considerable forces; I sent an express to M. *de la Durontai*, governour of the fort *Missilimachinac*, for some assistance. In the mean while I raised new fortifications, and by means of good ditches, rampires, and other works, I put the village into a good posture of defence. They came on the 28th of *March*, and lay before us, to the number of five hundred; we beat them back bravely in their very first attacks; at last, after six weeks, we raised the siege, and forced them to retire with the loss of fourscore of theirs, and not of one of ours. They took a few slaves in the neigh-

bourhood, that they might have something to brag of, and might not be thought to come back empty; but as they were just a going to flea their scalps, the poor wretches were happily so cunning as to get away, and came to us in our fort.

About the 15th of *April*, M. *de la Durontai*, and Father *de Loy* a Jesuit, with sixty *French*, came to assist me, but it was needless then. In the mean while M. *de la Barre* was come to *Quebeck*, to succeed the Count *de Frontenac*. This change was a dreadful blow to new *France* in general, which look'd upon Count *de Frontenac* as their patron. But it proved no less severe in respect to my own particular. For no sooner was this new governour come over, who was a friend and relation of the Chevalier *de Bogia*, but he gave him the command of St. *Louis's* fort; the rise and perfection of which were all owing to me. He directed his orders to M. *de la Durontai*, to deliver to me; who informed me with the new governour's orders to give up my command of the place, and to invest the chevalier therewith. I could do no other but obey the orders. I left some considerable effects in the fort, whereof I made an inventory, which the chevalier was so kind as to set his hand to; and I left the place the same day, taking with me what was of most moment and use. I first took the road of *Montreal*, and thence went to *Quebeck*, where I arriv'd in the beginning of *July*. I could do no less than go and wait on the governour, and give him a faithful account of the condition and importance of the place which I had left by his order, and of the state of the country in general. He heard me very courteously, and very civilly offer'd me any other post I should desire in *America*. I thanked him for his kind offers, and told him I was not willing to take any employment until M. *de la Salle* came back; and so we parted.

As soon as I arriv'd, I did not fail to write to M. *de la Salle*, and give him an account how I was served, and how I thought my self wronged, by being thus put out of the command he had given me. Adding, that I really thought there might be some danger of the peoples sitting uneasie under a new governour, and forsaking their new habitations, or committing some disorder. I writ besides to M. *de la Forest*, a friend of mine, to support my interests with our common protector. These letters had all the good effect I could wish or hope for. I received an answer to my business by M. *de la Forest* himself, who came back to *Quebeck* in the latter end of *July*, 1684. I had the satisfaction to learn from him what a gracious reception M. *de la Salle* had met with at court, and what considerable forces the king had granted him to settle the colonies in the New-found-lands; and withal that he was imbark'd for the gulf of *Mexico;* but what compleated my joy was, that I triumphed over mine enemies, by my restitution to St. *Louis's* fort, in the quality of governour and captain; for which this gentleman brought me the letters which M. *de la Salle* had obtain'd from the king in my favour.

I equipp'd my self straightway with arms and all materials necessary, as well for the fortification of the place, as for the raising of my company. And after we had spent some days together at *Quebeck*, M. *de la Forest* and I went away together the first of *November*, he for *Frontenac*, of which place he was going governour, and I for the *Illinois*.

The ice putting a stop to our voyage on the river of St. *Laurence*, we were forced to stay and winter at *Montreal*, until the next spring, in 1685.

In the beginning of *April*, we got up the river again as far as the fort *Frontenac*, where I took my leave of M. *de la Forest*. I went in a canoo on the first lake to *Magara*, where, after I had shot the

fall of the river, I got to *Missilimachinac*, and then to *Miamis*, and being come to the mouth of the river of the *Illinois*, I went to fort St. *Louis*, about *June* 15, in the same year.

The Chevalier *de Bogia* immediately entertain'd me with all possible marks of joy, friendship, and respect; and I endeavour'd to make a suitable return to his kindness; but at last, after having inform'd him of M. *de la Salle's* embarking, and of all other news then stirring; I found my self oblig'd to shew him the letters patents, to be commander in chief, and governour of fort St. *Louis*, with which the king thought fit to honour me. He receiv'd this order with a great deal of submission, and put me again in possession of the place, with all the effects with which I had entrusted him, assuring me, at the same time, that nevertheless he should still be ready to do me service upon all occasions, and always to perform the office of a faithful friend. We spent the rest of the day together in amicable conversation, and the next morning he departed a third time for the town of *Quebeck*.

In the mean while the *Miamis* and the *Illinois*, neighbouring nations and our allies, being at variance about certain trivial pretensions; I endeavour'd to reconcile them; having receiv'd from both parties hostages and pledges of their fidelity. In the beginning of *August*, being much disturb'd that I had heard no news of M. *de la Salle*, I pass'd over to *Missilimachinac*, to make some enquiry after him. There I was inform'd that the Marquis *d'Enonville* succeeded M. *de la Barre*, in quality of governour of *New France:* and I had also the honour to receive a letter from him; in which he was pleas'd to express his desire of entering into a conference with me, about the design he had to make war with the *Iroquois;* at the same time he gave me to understand, that M. *de la Salle*, having

been for a long time at sea, had, without doubt, already enter'd the gulf with four tight ships, given him by the king, and that apparently he must needs have arriv'd at the mouth of the river *Mississipi*, or in some other port.

This letter serv'd only to increase the earnest desire I had to meet him, insomuch that I immediately took care to provide what supplies I could for him; fitted out twenty *Canadians*, and returning to the *Illinois*, with my new recruits; I arriv'd within a month at St. *Louis's* fort: where, after having given necessary orders, I left the command of the place to the Sieur *de Bellefontaine:* and set forward with forty men for the gulf of *Mexico*. Thus we pass'd down our river into the great one of *Mississipi*, follow'd its course to the sea, and spent about two months in performing this voyage.

Upon our arrival on the sea shore, not meeting with what I sought for, nor any person who could give me any information about the matter, I sent out two boats, *viz.* one to the *east*, and the other to the *south-west*, to endeavour to make some discovery: They row'd up and down about twenty leagues from one side to another, along the coast, and having descry'd nothing, were oblig'd to stand in for some port for want of fresh water, and return'd to join our fleet, after a course of two days; without being able to get any notice of what I expected. All that I receiv'd from them by way of consolation was only a porpoise, and some very fine shells of mother of pearl, which they took on a rock.

Therefore, perceiving that it would be to no purpose to wait there any longer, I advis'd with the most prudent men of our company, about the course we ought to steer at our return. I was inclin'd to follow the coast as far as *Menada*, hoping by that means, continually to discover some new

country, or to take some good prize: but the most part were of the contrary opinion; affirming it was safer to keep a known road, rather than to take one that was not so, and which otherwise could not but be of very difficult passage; as well by reason of the high lands along the coasts, as for the great number of rivers that unload themselves into the sea; so that we were oblig'd to take a resolution to return the same way that we came.

Before our departure, having observ'd that the tree on which M. *de la Salle* had caus'd a cross, with the kings arms to be set up, was ready to be thrown down by the boistrousness of the winds and waves, we got up a little higher, where, having erected a large pillar, we fixt a cross upon it, and underneath the arms of *France*. We lodg'd that night in the same place, but the next morning being *Easter* Monday, *A. D.* 1685, we set forward on our journey, travelling by land along the banks of the river *Mississipi*.

On the sixth day, being arriv'd in the country of the *Quinipissa's;* their commander in chief came to meet us, and having offer'd us the *calumet*, begg'd pardon for their ill usage of us during our last voyage; entreating us that we would vouchsafe to admit 'em into the number of our allies. However we answer'd their submissive addresses very magisterially, and having refresh'd our selves a little among 'em, we pursued our journey. Four leagues above we discover'd in the country a certain nation, that had escap'd from us at our first descent, I mean that of the *Ouma's*, who are the most valiant of all the savages; altho' it be true indeed, that as soon as they saw us and our arms, they were struck with a kind of astonishment, accompanied with a panick fear, that quite curb'd their fierceness, and oblig'd them to promise an entire obedience to our injunctions: They offer'd us some new refreshments, and

to serve us with the utmost of their power. In those territories we observ'd an extraordinary rare animal, that partakes of the nature of a wolf and a lion; as having the head and size of a large wolf, but the tail and claws of a lion: he devours all sorts of beasts, yet never sets upon men; he sometimes carries his prey on his back, eats part of it, and hides the rest under the leaves of trees; but the other animals have so great an antipathy against this beast, which is call'd *Michibichi*, that they never touch what he leaves.

After the *Oumas* we met with the *Akancéas*. Indeed all these countries are so pleasant, and so extremely enrich'd with the productions of nature, that we could not sufficiently admire 'em: the trees in the woods, which are of an extraordinary heigth, seem'd to be artificially planted in rows: the soil brings forth good grain, with great variety of fruit-trees, and the fields are every where stor'd with all sorts of game, both for hawk and hound; but there is also abundance of huge wild cats, which devour every thing that they can find. Our *French* men charm'd with the beauty of this climate, desir'd leave of me to settle there; and forasmuch as our intention was to civilize the savages, and to render 'em sociable by our conversation, I readily consented to their request. Whereupon I made the draught of a house for my self among the *Akancéas*, and left ten *French* men of my retinue with four savages, to carry on the building of it; granting 'em a license to lodge there themselves, and to cultivate as much land as they could grub up, and clear of trees: insomuch, that this small colony was in process of time so extremely increas'd and improv'd, that it serves as a place of rendez-vous to the *French*, who travel into those parts.

From thence I continu'd my course along the river of the *Illinois*, and after three days journey arriv'd at St. *Lewis's* fort, on the festival of St. *John*, being less tir'd with the fatigues of my travels, than perplexed about the uncertainty of M. *de la Salle's* destiny. Forasmuch as I had not as yet paid my respects to our new governour; after having passed some days in refreshing my self, I left the *Illinois* in the end of the month of *June*, and arriv'd at *Montreal July* 15. Then I went forthwith to salute the governour, and receiv'd orders from him to cause the war against the *Iroquois* to be declar'd amongst our allies, and to summon 'em to appear at St. *Lewis's* fort, to carry on such an expedition.

Having receiv'd this commission, I soon took leave of Monsieur *D' Enonville*, and arriv'd in the country of the *Illinois*, *September* 4, from whence I speedily dispatch'd divers couriers from all parts to give notice to the neighbouring nations of our design, and to exhort 'em to appear betimes at the place of *rendez-vous*. Whereupon all the people met together in the end of the month of *March*, *A. D.* 1686, as well *Illinois*, as *Chianous* and *Miamis*. The whole multitude consisted of about 400 men; to whom I joyn'd 60 *French* men of my company, leaving 40 in the fort under the command of M. *De Bellefontaine*. This small army encamp'd within a quarter of a league of the village; where, having caused the whole body to stand to their arms, I declar'd to 'em the king's pleasure, and the governour's orders; exhorting 'em to signalize their valour, and to exert their utmost force, to repress the insolence of the *Iroquois*, our common enemies.

This speech was followed with the general acclamations of all the people; whereupon I immediately put my self at the head of 'em, and began

to march to the canal that joyns the two lakes of the *Suvrons* and the *Illinois*. In that place stands a fort that bears the name of St. *Joseph*, and which serves to defend those small seas. Monsieur *de la Durontay* was the commander of it, to whom I sent one of our *French*-men to give him notice of our arrival. Upon which information he immediately commanded his lieutenant to meet me with thirty men, and the next day he himself led up the like number. Then we encamped on the banks of that streight, and provisions were brought to us thither from all parts. Two days after M. *de la Foret*, governour of the fort of *Frontenac*, and M. *de Lude*, commander of that of the *Miamis*, each at the head of his company march'd to joyn our army. All the forces being thus assembled, we held a council of war, to consult what measures ought to be taken, and it was determin'd to divide the army into two bodies, one of which should be commanded by the Sieurs *de la Durontay* and *de Lude*, to secure the avenues of *Missilimachinac*, and to defend the coasts of the lake *Herie*, as far as *Niagara;* where we design'd to erect a fort, which was already begun to be built, to curb the *Iroquois*, who always made some opposition on that side: and that M. *de la Foret* and my self should be commanders of the other body, to invade the enemies country.

The management of affairs being thus dispos'd of, M. *de la Durontay* march'd along the coasts of *Missilimachinac*, and met with a considerable party of the enemies, compos'd of above 500 men, as well *English* as *Iroquois*, (here it may be observ'd by the way, that those two nations maintain a strict mutual amity when engag'd together against the *French*,) and attack'd 'em so vigorously, that above half of 'em were kill'd on the spot; some prisoners were taken; and the rest were put to flight.

On our side, at the distance of 20 leagues from *Niagara*, we found means to meet with a numerous party of *English*, *Iroquois*, and *Ouabaches*, who under the conduct of Major *Gregory*, were conveying a great quantity of brandy, provisions, ammunition, and merchandizes, to the inhabitants of the *Iroquois*. We fell upon 'em; and after having kill'd the greatest part of the *Iroquois*, and of the other savages, we seiz'd on their baggages and merchandizes, took a great number of slaves, and carried away above twenty-five *English* men prisoners. After this small victory we continued our march to *Niagara*, where we compleated the building of the fort in sight of the *Iroquois*, and even at the very foot of their habitations.

The prosperous success of our arms in the beginning oblig'd us to send a messenger to the governour to give him an account of every thing that had pass'd, and M. *de la Foret*, who was very desirous to accept of this commission, set forward with all possible speed. M. *D'Enonville* received the information with a great deal of satisfaction; caus'd it to be communicated to the whole continent of *Canada*; and sent us fresh supplies of *Huron's*, *Plononteau's* and *Ouatoua's*; who came to meet us at the rise of the cataract, with a bark very well mann'd.

Thus being re-enforc'd with these new recruits, I march'd further into the territories of the enemies; but we entertain'd in our camp a certain *Iroquois*, who feigning to be disgusted at the proceedings of his own nation, seem'd to be extremely well affected to ours; nevertheless this treacherous renegado took an opportunity to abandon us to return to the *enemies army*, and gave 'em notice of our march, as also of the marks of our savages, so as they might be certainly discover'd. Thus as we were continually advancing forward, we ar-

riv'd on the other side of a morass, at the distance of three leagues from the camp of the *Iroquois*; where some of 'em lay in ambush, expecting our approach, and kill'd seven of our men, among whom was my sub-lieutenant: however we soon rally'd, repuls'd 'em vigorously, and after having cut off above thirty of their party, pursu'd 'em to the woods; but not being able to come up with 'em, and not judging it safe to advance any further, lest we should fall into another ambuscade, we contented our selves to plunder their villages, where we put to the edge of the sword every one whom we met in our way.

We encamped for some days in that place, and the army under the command of M. *de Lude* and M. *de la Durontay* came to joyn ours. The next day after their arrival we did not stay a moment e're we took a resolution to force the enemies camp; who being inform'd of our design, by their spies, did not think fit to wait for our approach, but decamp'd with great precipitation. We found in their camp some remainders of *Indian* corn and other provisions, which we made use of to our advantage, and we spent the night in their tents, or rather huts; the season being already very far advanc'd. The next morning we sent back all our allies to their several territories, with orders to meet together again upon the first summons; while the Sieurs *de la Lude* and *de la Durontay* repair'd to their respective stations.

As I was marching to mine, I met with certain *Hurons*, who gave me to understand that I was ready to be surrounded with the whole army of the *Iroquois*. There was no longer any means to have recourse to M. *de Lude*, and *de la Durontay*, who were already embark'd in canoos on the lakes; insomuch, that I was obliged to cause my small band of men to halt, and instantly to dispatch

a courier to *Niagara* to demand speedy succours of the commander of the new fort. It happen'd accidentally, that M. *de la Valromè*, the governour of it, supposing us to be engag'd with the *Iroquois*, was leading up fifty fusileers to our relief, and in the mean while the messenger whom I sent, having met with him, inform'd him of our present distress, which caus'd him to hasten his march; his arrival inspir'd us with new courage, so that the enemies appearing, we set our small army in battle array; yet when we had advanced towards 'em within musket-shot, they had not the courage to stay for our coming up, but suddenly turn'd their backs upon us: whereupon we pursued 'em for some time, till about 100 hundred of them perish'd on the spot, and the rest found means to escape into the woods. Then I immediately caus'd a retreat to be sounded; and having convoy'd M. *de Valromè* on part of his way, I judg'd it expedient to take up our winter quarters at *Missilimachinac*, and to reside there till the next campaign, in case the war should continue.

The scene of affairs began now to be chang'd; for the *Iroquois* resign'd to us their habitations that were near *Niagara;* made a present of their best skins to the governour; and engag'd that for the future they should not disturb the tranquillity of the nations that were under our protection, and who were our allies. A treaty of peace being thus concluded, I set forward in my journey to the country of the *Illinois* in the month of *April*, 1687, and should have been very well satisfied with the success of the campaign, if I had not been continually troubled by reason of M. *de la Salle's* long absence, not knowing what might have befallen him: for he set out from *America*, *A. D.* 1683, and we did so in 1687, so that four years were almost past, without having any other news of him

than that of his re-embarking, or his departure from *Rochel* for the gulph of *Mexico*, but without getting the least information concerning his return. Indeed I knew not what to think. *Did he not perish* (said I to myself) *by shipwreck, or rather did he not land on some coast, inhabited by barbarians, who perhaps might have dispatch'd him out of the way?* Thus being perplex'd with such distracting thoughts, I could take no rest, neither could I steer any certain course, but suffering my self to be conducted by my attendants, rather than leading 'em my self, I arriv'd at St. *Lewis's* fort in the end of the month of *May*.

As soon as I enter'd my house, I was extremely surpriz'd, there to meet with M. *Cavelier*, M. *de la Salle's* own brother, and indeed, I did not discern in his countenance that free and sprightly air which usually appears at the first meeting of two friends, after a long interval of separation; however, the first transports of my joy, not permitting me to make long reflections, I incontinently embrac'd him, and at the same time enquir'd of him about his brother's welfare. Upon this address, he appear'd to be altogether put to a stand; so that a sad look up to heaven, a deep sigh, and a certain effort which he seem'd to make within himself, were taken by me as so many ill omens; I earnestly entreated him to conceal nothing from me, and after he had recover'd himself a little, he told me very positively, "That M. *de la Salle* his brother was in perfect health; but that the ill success of his navigation had so far pull'd down his spirits, that he had scarce courage to continue his course; that in returning by small voyages, he took delight in trading with the different nations whom he met with; and that having charg'd him to go before, to give me notice of his arrival, he determin'd still to reside among the *Naches* and *Akanceas* for some

time, to purchase certain merchandizes of both those nations.

The assurance, with which he spoke to me, joyn'd with a shew of downright integrity, which was natural to him, besides the deference due a person of his character, for he was a priest, would not suffer me in the least to call in question the veracity of his relation, and serv'd a little to encourage me against my sad presages. Therefore I entreated him to give me an account of his voyage, and to let me know when they re-embark'd, and at what time they landed. Since then I gave him a great deal of scope, to deliver his mind ingenuously, and without constraint, he began to relate the particular circumstances with so much the more freedom.

He told me at first, "that the whole court of *France*, being charm'd with the great discoveries made by M. *de la Salle*, the king made no scruple at all to grant him the supplies he desir'd; not to mention the titles of honour, that procur'd him greater authority in his new plantations: That they set out from *France*, *July* 24, *A. D.* 1684, with four vessels, very well provided of all things necessary, and above 200 men, as well soldiers as artificers of all sorts of trades, and that nevertheless by a complication of misfortunes, their whole fleet was reduced to a few boats, and that great number of persons, to seven or eight *French* men, who serv'd as a convoy to his brother during his return."

Forasmuch as these remarkable crosses afforded matter of wonder, I could not choose but be very desirous to be inform'd of all the particulars of their adventures: whereupon M. *Cavelier* resuming his former narrative from the beginning of their navigation, told me, "that after a calm which continued for some days, in the latitude of St. *Domingo*, they were suddenly surpriz'd with a violent

storm: insomuch, that one of their ships, laden with merchandizes, to the value of above thirty thousand livres, was hurried away with a furious blast of wind, and afterwards taken by certain *Spanish* rovers: that the rest of the fleet cast anchor before the same island, where they were soon refitted, and supply'd with fresh provisions, which with the merchandizes there bought, serv'd for the cargo of these vessels, but that the greatest part of the mariners, by living somewhat too licentiously, contracted very dangerous diseases.

" That they cruis'd about from thence towards the islands of *Caimant*, and took in fresh water on that of *Cuba;* where, having found many tuns of canary, good brandy, sugar, and *Indian* corn left unguarded, they seiz'd on the whole cargo, and got such reprisals as were sufficient to make 'em amends for the loss of every thing that the *Spaniards* had taken from them before: that afterwards being supply'd with all manner of provisions, they set sail again; and that having always had a favourable gale of wind, they would have enter'd the gulph of *Mexico;* but that perceiving the currents to be very rapid, and the shelves to be numerous, they were oblig'd to stand off from the shoar, which hinder'd M. *de la Salle* from lighting on the exact degree of latitude, for the mouth of the river *Mississipi;* insomuch, that to avoid the exposing of the men to greater dangers, he order'd 'em to land at the bay of *Spiritu Santo*, 50 leagues below the river they sought for: but two days after, hoping to discover it, they got on board their ships again, and always taking care to steer into the main, to shun the rocks and shelves, they at last arriv'd a great deal higher in a bay, afterwards known by the name of St. *Lewis*. This bay is of a very convenient depth for a harbour; but 'tis dangerous landing there, as well by reason

of the shelves of sand that encompass it; as for the rocks with which 'tis beset on all sides.

"Indeed the missing of the entrance of the river (continued he) would have been no great detriment to us; for after having once arriv'd so near its mouth, it would have been difficult to descry it, at least by land; afterwards to convey our ships thither; to form a kind of harbour, to prevent mistakes for the future; and even to build a regular port; but ill luck would have it, that after M. *de Beaujeu*, who commanded one of the three vessels, was come on board our ship; the two others were lost, as well by the ill management of the pilot, as by the carelesness of the mariners; for the first ran upon a shelf of sand in the mouth of the bay, from whence it was impossible to get her off, notwithstanding our utmost endeavours; altho' indeed we were so fortunate as to save the men, and the best of our effects. The other ship was dash'd in pieces against a rock, even in the very harbour, with the loss of the most part of the mariners; but we had luckily unloaded it of all our provisions and merchandizes: besides, that the greatest part of our company and goods were set ashoar by M. *de Beaujeu*, who, after having been a witness of our misfortunes, set sail to return for *France*."

M. *Cavelier* having thus related the disasters that befel their fleet, proceeded to give the following narration of the other adventures and occurrences that happen'd during their voyage. "To reckon (*said he*) from *July* 24, *A. D.* 1684, the day of our departure from *Rochel*, to *Feb.* 18, in the next year, 1685, when we disimbark'd at St. *Lewis's* bay, about seven months were pass'd; at what time my brother having gather'd together the fragments of our vessels, and after having discover'd the advantageous situation of the country at the mouth of a very fine river, call'd *the River of Cows*, in the

midst of many others that fall into the same bay, with a great number of populous nations, and the delightful prospects caus'd by the enamell'd verdure of the lands, the abundance of fruit, and the numerous herds of cattle, was soon induc'd to cause a fine seat to be built for himself in those parts; having at first made the draught of a fort, and delineated the compass of it; giving orders at the same time for putting his design in execution: and indeed, the necessity of building some apartments for lodging, and the conveniency of procuring timber and morter contributed so far to the carrying on of the work, that it was entirely compleated within the space of two months.

"In the mean while, M. *de la Salle* growing more impatient than ever to recover the river of *Mississipi*, made incursions on all sides to descry it. Forasmuch as that whole country is divided by a great number of rivers that empty themselves at divers intervals into the bay; he sometimes travell'd by land, and sometimes in a canoo, accompanied with ten or twelve *French* men, arm'd with good fusees: At every one of those distances he met with several habitations of the savages, and every where abundance of all sorts of necessary provisions, even so much as tame fowl.

"At last after fifteen days search he met with a spacious river, and follow'd the course of it for seven or eight leagues to the place where it rolls into the sea, and perceiv'd it to be really that which he had so long sought for, and the mouth of which he was not able to discover: therefore he took an observation of its latitude again, that he might not miss it, in case he should have occasion to pass thro' the gulph at any other time. Thus being well satisfied with this discovery, and yet more delighted with the fruitfulness of the adjacent territories, he return'd to his new colony; but as

an addition to his former misfortunes, he soon found that some of his men died, quite worn out with those lingering diseases which they had contracted at St. *Domingo*, and that above forty of them were assassinated by the savages. He was extremely afflicted at so great a loss; but having fortify'd himself against immoderate grief, he summon'd those that were left, (the number of whom did not amount to 100,) encourag'd 'em, and exhorted 'em to take care that by the means of their labour, mutual concord, industry and good correspondence with the *barbarians*, they might make advantage of the riches that nature afforded 'em, in great abundance.

"Since the newly discover'd countries appear'd to M. *de la Salle* to be so many conquer'd provinces; and in regard that all the losses he might sustain seem'd to him to be of no account, in comparison of one nation, that was voluntarily subdu'd; he endeavour'd to comfort himself with the hopes of better success in the undertaking of some other voyages, and thus having taken a new resolution, he determin'd to discover those vast territories which are situated between the river *Mississipi*, and the gulph of *Mexico*, to the south-east. On the 22d day of *April*, 1685, he set out from St. *Lewis's* bay for this new voyage, taking along with him only twenty persons, among whom were our two nephews, *Cavelier* and *De Morangel*, a father of the order of *Recolet* and my self. Our whole equipage consisted only in two canoos, and as many sledges to carry our provisions and merchandizes.

"On the first day we pass'd above 20 rivers, the territories lying round about which, appear'd to us to be as it were an inchanted country, and conversed with a very obliging sort of people, who deny'd us nothing. 'Tis also remarkable that in

those parts among the horned beasts, in the meadows we saw a great number of horses; but so wild, that one cannot come near 'em.

"On the second day, we began to get our living by hunting; we kill'd a roe-buck, and lay that night in the open fields, in the middle of a small retrenchment: ever since that time we made an agreement to use the like precaution in every place where we should have occasion to take up our lodging.

"On the third day, about noon, we met with four booted horse-men, who accosted us in a very respectful manner, asking us who we were, and where we were going? We declar'd to 'em, that we were *French* men, and we were only travelling through those countries, with a design to discover the several nations of *America*, and to offer 'em the protection of the king of the *French*, one of the greatest monarchs in the universe: and that if they were willing to submit to his power, they should soon be sensible of the effects of his favour, by the means of his numerous fleet: They on the other side immediately intreated us to accept of a lodging in their cottages, and to accompany 'em to their village: We readily consented to their request, and were very kindly entertain'd by them.

"This was the nation of the *Quoaquis* or *Mahis*: The men are of a very swarthy complexion, neither are the women more fair; they have very fine black hair; their eyes being also black, their face and nose flat, and their teeth very white: otherwise their carriage is free and unaffected. The men in those parts are cloath'd with corslets of double leather, which are arrow-proof; wearing from the waste to the knees a kind of pantaloon breeches, made of the skin of a bear, stag, or wolf, and their head is cover'd with a sort of turban of the same skins; they have also boots or buskins of the skins of an ox, elk, or horse, very artificially

dress'd. For the horse-furniture, besides their corslets, buskins and bucklers, cover'd with the hardest skins, they have saddles made of many pieces of leather, fitted and glu'd one upon another; as also wooden stirrups; bridles like ours, and bits made of the teeth of a bear or wolf. As for their women, they wear instead of a bonnet a contexture of rushes or reeds, of divers colours; their hair being sometimes braided, and sometimes tied in knots: their body is cover'd with a vest of very fine wool, reaching half way down their thighs: they are shod almost after the same manner as the men, and wear buskins on their legs.

"We only lodg'd with 'em one night, but always stood upon our guard, watching by turns from time to time. The next day, the chief commander came to meet us with certain presents, as *Indian* corn, and to assure us, &c. that they should be always very willing to keep an amicable correspondence with us, and to live under the laws of that prince whom we acknowledged: on the other side we made 'em a present of some knives, with glasses, and other toys, for their wives; after which we took leave of 'em, and continued our journey.

"About two leagues from thence we found our selves on the banks of a very fine river, which we call'd *Riber* from one of our retinue, so nam'd, who was drown'd therein. There were numerous herds of *cibolas* feeding along the sides of this river, of which we instantly kill'd three, and caus'd 'em to be salted, to serve for our provision. At the distance of a league from the same river we got up another, that is more rapid, and on which we imposed the name of *Hieus*, from that of a certain *German* of our company, who continued three days lost thereabouts, having ventured to go too far into the woods, by reason of the great delight he took in hunting.

"Thus in pursuing our journey, sometimes in the plains, and sometimes across the torrents and rivers which we pass'd in our canoos, we arriv'd in the midst of a very extraordinary nation, call'd the *Biscatonges*, to whom we gave the name of weepers, in regard that upon the first approach of strangers all these people, as well men as women, usually fall a weeping bitterly: the reason of their practice is very particular; for these poor people imagining that their relations or friends deceased are gone a journey, and continually expecting their return, the remembrance of 'em is reviv'd upon the arrival of new passengers; but forasmuch as they do not find in their persons those whose loss they lament, it serves only to encrease their grief. That which is yet more remarkable, and perhaps even very reasonable in that custom, is, that they weep much more at the birth of their children, than at their death; because the latter is esteem'd only by 'em as it were a journey or voyage, from whence they may return after the expiration of a certain time; but they look upon their nativity as an inlet into an ocean of dangers and misfortunes. Let the case be how it will, this first torrent of tears being once over, nothing was to be seen among the whole multitude of these people, but a serene aspect, and an engaging air, full of kindness and respect: they conducted us into their huts that were neatly matted, where they offer'd us some powder'd beef and venison, with some *sagavite*, their ordinary bread; which they make with a certain root called *toquo*, being a kind of bramble. After having wash'd, dry'd, and beaten it to powder, they make it up into a paste; which being bak'd, is of a very good taste, but of an astringent quality. We added to their treat a little of our brandy, and gave 'em a couple of bottles full of that liquor; whereupon they made us a present of divers skins, well dress'd,

which serv'd to make us good shoes. These people worship no other Deity but the sun, and that is the peculiar God of almost all those nations: upon which occasion we told 'em, that our prince was the sun of other kings; that his lustre was spread abroad throughout the whole continent of *Europe*, and even in divers parts of *America*: that if they would submit to his authority, they should ere long be sensible of some of the effects of his grandeur and generosity. Whereupon they readily submitted, and took an oath to maintain a mutual friendship with us for ever.

"Having spent two days among that weeping nation, we set forward again in our journey. On the first day we travell'd ten large leagues, almost continually in the woods, and afterwards we arriv'd within sight of a great village, in the entrance of which we espy a huge roe-buck, which a *Chaouanous* of our retinue aim'd at, and kill'd with one fusee-shot. The report of the gun, and the flame that accompany'd it appear'd so dreadful to those inhabitants, that at the very sight of our company and arms, they were all extremely terrify'd, and betook themselves to flight. The chief commander, and three of his sons, having shew'd more resolution, brought 'em out of their panick fear; so that they advanc'd towards us to offer us some refreshment; and the use of some of their huts for our lodging, during the night. But my brother not judging it convenient to trust 'em, we took up our quarters a little further off, according to our usual custom. It was well for us, that we were so cautious; for the next morning, at break of day, we discern'd a great number of that rabble, lying in ambush among the reeds, and arm'd with bows and arrows. M. *de la Salle* immediately caus'd 'em to be rudely attack'd, and oblig'd 'em to call for quarter. But they were releas'd for a certain

quantity of *Indian* corn, which the son of their commander brought to us, and we immediately took a resolution to decamp.

"At the distance of six leagues from thence we came to another village, consisting of above 300 huts, inhabited by the *Chinonoas*, who receiv'd us very favourably. All these countries are situated almost on the eastern coast of the sea of *Mexico*; so that the *Spaniards* frequently make inrodes into them, and abuse the natives after a most outragious manner: insomuch that these savages knew how to distinguish us from them by the air of our countenance, our language and deportment; and the antipathy they had against all those of that nation, serv'd only to encrease their friendship and kindness towards us.

"We soon gave 'em to understand, that there was no manner of correspondence between the *Spaniards* and us, and that they were our declar'd enemies: whereupon having offer'd us every thing that was in their possession, they entreated us to unite with them, in order to maintain a vigorous war against the *Spanish* nation: we reply'd, That we were not at present in a condition to do it, but that we would speedily return with greater numbers to assist 'em, insomuch that having spent the night very peaceably among those people, we departed the next day, laden with a great deal of *Indian* corn, and very fine skins.

"We had scarce march'd a league on the road, when a certain person of our company found himself stung by a viper, and suddenly made a hideous outcry; within less space than half a quarter of an hour, his body swell'd prodigiously, and became all over livid. We immediately made large incisions on the part affected, bathing it with brandy and salt of vipers, and gave him some *orvietan*; so that after two days he was perfectly cur'd.

"Then we continu'd our journey, and after two days march we arriv'd on the banks of a very rapid river: it was requisite to pass it, and we were then destitute of canoos; for those we made use of before were so leaky, that they took in water on all sides, and we were forc'd to leave 'em, as being no longer serviceable to us. Therefore we could find no other expedient but to make a little boat of canes and many twigs of trees twisted one within another, and cover'd with our best skins. My brother and our two nephews first went on board with two savages to steer it, whilst I stay'd with the rest of our company on the side of the river. They were scarce got into the middle of the current, when the swiftness of the stream hurry'd 'em away in a moment, and took 'em out of our sight: but by singular good luck the boat was stopt about half a large league from thence, by a great tree that floated on the water, being half pluck'd up by the roots; so that grappling the branches, by the means of certain poles they at last made a shift to get over to the other side, otherwise the extreme swiftness of the river would undoubtedly have carry'd 'em into the sea.

In the mean while we were very solicitous to know what was become of 'em; we incessantly follow'd the course of our bank, looking forward as far as possibly we could, and crying out with all our force to endeavour to recall, or to discover 'em. We spent a whole day and a night in this anxiety, and the next day we began the same toil again, till at last they answer'd us, and we descry'd 'em on the other side. 'Twas absolutely necessary to joyn 'em, and to that end we were forc'd to expose our selves to the same danger. Therefore we set about the making of a new boat, (for the first was unjoynted, and no longer capable of holding any thing,) and having provided strong

poles, we all pass'd over at several times, with as much safety as could be wish'd for. Our whole company being thus re-united, we pursu'd our course under the conduct of my brother, who had no other compass to steer by than his genius. In the mean while one of our hunters straglíng to follow the game, we lost him a whole day. But the next morning we saw him again laden with two roe-bucks: he had also kill'd another at the same time, and left it at the distance of half a quarter of a league: therefore, after having given us the two, he went back, attended with an *Abenaguis*, to fetch the other, and having brought it, we feasted our selves with part of his venison, and kept the rest for our provision.

"Having pass'd from thence into the most delightful and most populous countries of all the others, after a march of six or seven leagues, we saw making up towards us a certain savage on horse-back, with his wife behind him, attended with four slaves, who were well mounted. This man accosting us, enquir'd who we were, and what we sought for in that country? My brother gave him to understand, as well by his own mouth, as by that of the savages of his retinue, that we were *French* men, and that our design was only to offer to all the people of their continent, as far as the gulph of *Mexico*, our alliance, and the protection of the King of *France*. Whereupon the same savage immediately alighted, presented his horse to my brother, and even constrained him by his earnest entreaties to accept of it, and to go to the place of their habitation; assuring him that he should be very welcome, and that his proposals should be favourably heard. My brother, after having return'd him many thanks for his kindness, told him, that before he proceeded so far, he would very willingly be inform'd of the opinion of his whole na-

tion by an envoy, sent to them to that purpose. The savage receiv'd this answer very favourably, and by a surplusage of civility left his wife and one of his slaves for hostages; my brother on the other side gave him his nephew *Cavelier* and two *Chaouanous*. The savage mounted on a horse that belonged to one of his slaves, and my nephew *Cavelier* on that which was given my brother. The next day our envoy return'd with our two *Chaouanous*, both mounted on fine horses, laden with all sorts of provisions, and made a report no less agreeable than surprizing, of the kind entertainment he had receiv'd from those people, who are call'd *Cenis*. The place of their habitation is extended twenty leagues in compass, and divided into many hamlets, situated near one another. Their *cottages* are forty or fifty foot high, being made of thick branches of trees, which, meeting together in a point at the top, form a kind of arched roof; the inside of 'em is well matted, and always kept very neat, even to admiration.

" M. *de la Salle* being inform'd of their good intentions, did not fail to convey himself thither the next day, and saw the principal elders of the nation, who were all adorn'd with plumes of feathers, and cloath'd with their richest skins, coming to meet him, at the distance of 200 paces from the village. My brother receiv'd 'em at the head of his company, and the first salute being given with reciprocal compliments, he was conducted to the village by the commander in chief a-cross a very fine body of young men, drawn up in arms, and thro' a very great concourse of people: afterwards he and his company were led into a quarter which seem'd to constitute a separated hamlet, and were there nobly entertain'd. The commander was convinc'd of the magnificence of our prince, by the character he receiv'd of him from M. *de la Salle*, acknowledg'd

him as his sovereign, and made my brother a present of six good horses, and of his finest skins; who on the other side presented the said commander with divers hatchets, sizers, knives, and razors, which he accepted with a great deal of complacency and satisfaction. At that time the ambassadors of a certain nation call'd the *Chaumans*, resided there, and the occasion of their embassie was to propose the making of a league with 'em, to carry on a war against the *Spaniards*, their enemies, and tyrannical persecutors: they gave us a visit, and sollicited us to enter into the same league; insomuch, that we promis'd to assist 'em, after we had made an end of our voyage; and they took an oath, as the others had done, to maintain an inviolable friendship with our nation.

"The *Nassonis* have their habitations at the distance of a days journey from the *Cenis*, and we thought fit also to pass into their territories, where we receiv'd the like entertainment, meeting with the same acknowledgments, and the same protestations of amity. And indeed, all these nations have an equal antipathy against the *Spaniards*. The pastures in those parts afford fodder to the numerous herds of oxen and horses, and in all the enclosures belonging to their private families are to be seen many fat capons, hens, pullets, and large *Indian* pigeons. We could discern among them, as well as among the *Cenis*, some tincture of the christian religion. For some of 'em made the sign of the cross, and others express'd to us by certain marks the manner of celebrating the mass; insomuch, that we clearly perceiv'd it to be the effect of some *Spanish* missions; but 'tis not to be doubted, the increase would be much greater, if these first seeds of religion were sow'd among 'em by persons, to whom they have less aversion. And indeed our Father *Recolet*, by the means of some

images, crosses and *Agnus Dei's*, which he distributed up and down, easily made 'em comprehend and believe every thing that he taught 'em; so great is the docility of the people of that country.

" Notwithstanding the great satisfaction we had among those savages, yet we met with two sad disasters; one of which was the desertion of four of our *French* men, and the other was my brother's sickness. As for the four deserters, it is not known whether they were excited by the pleasantness of those countries, to endeavour to settle themselves among some of the neighbouring nations; or whether being entic'd by the alluring baits of the savagesses, they return'd to the *Cenis*; or whether they retir'd to the *Nassonis*. However, 'tis certain, that as soon as they had horses in their possession, they did not any longer imagine themselves to be among the savages; so that we were not able to retain 'em, neither could we have any tidings of 'em ever since that time.

" As for my brother's indisposition, it was undoubtedly the effect of grief occasion'd by the desertion of some of his attendants. He fell sick, *August* 24, in the same year 1685, after three months travelling, and within 200 leagues of St. *Lewis's* bay. His sickness was follow'd almost at the same time with that of *De Moranget*, our nephew. However, during that affliction, we had the good luck to find among the savages all the help that could have been procur'd in *Europe*, except physitians: for we had every thing that we could wish for, particularly veal, mutton, pullets, pigeons and ring-doves; besides, all sorts of wholesome herbs, as well for pottage, as for ptisans, decoctions, and other remedies necessary for sick persons. Our two surgeons were also present, and were very serviceable to us upon this occasion; nay, the very

savages themselves, as well men as women, gave us meat, fowl, and other sorts of venison; insomuch, that at last (thanks be to the divine providence) by the means of our diligent care, both our patients recover'd their health, after a months indisposition.

" As soon as they had regain'd their strength, my brother being of opinion that he ought to improve his last discoveries; and not being able to go any farther, without entring the territories of the *Spaniards*, from whence, according to all probability, we should never have come back, took a resolution to return to his new colony. Therefore we set forward again in our journey in the end of the month of *September*, 1685. But we had this advantage, that we were now in a capacity to return on horseback, whereas we came on foot; that which was most surprizing in our new furniture is, that our horses without being shod had so hard a hoof, that they could go any where; and had so tender a mouth, that they gave way to the curb, as if they had been train'd up to it: every one of our company was reasonably well mounted, and our supernumerary horses serv'd either for change, or instead of pack-horses, to carry our provision, canoos, and other equipage; which was no small consolation to us.

" However, since the most useful things sometimes prove the most fatal, it happen'd either accidentally, or for want of skill, that one of our horses occasion'd the loss of a savage belonging to our retinue. For on the banks of the river *La Maligne*, on which my brother run the hazard of being lost, a horse prancing at the sight of a huge crocodile, threw his rider into the water. He had scarce fallen, when that ravenous beast dragged him away, and devour'd him in our sight. We were extremely troubl'd at this sad spectacle; but

in such voyages 'tis difficult to avoid the sad accidents to which those who undertake 'em are sometimes liable. Therefore the safest way for a traveller is to prepare for such disasters, by quieting his conscience, and by putting himself under the protection of Almighty God, who is our guide, and constant preserver.

" Forasmuch as no remedy could be found for this misfortune, we continu'd our journey; and after three months march, we arriv'd at St. *Lewis's* bay in the beginning of the month of *January*, 1686. As soon as we came near our colony, we perceiv'd that all the fields thereabouts were clear'd of trees, and well cultivated. We there met with a great number of women, and cottages, fill'd with new families, each family having its peculiar store of provisions, with a garden and other apartments. In a word, every thing seem'd to promise a happy improvement, and a numerous increase. My brother was receiv'd there as the father of this little common-wealth, and we took great delight in observing these beginnings of the incorporation of our *French* men with the savages, and the good use that every one made of the advantages of this new plantation.

" In regard that my brother's presence in that country was necessary, as well for the compleating of the fort, as for the modelling of this new state, we sojourn'd there about three months longer; after the expiration of which time, he determin'd to return to *France* to get new supplies at that court, and to procure some recruits of tradesmen, artificers and labourers, as well in favour of this last colony, as for all the others that are planted in divers parts of the northern *America*. After having taken leave of every one, he set out, accompany'd with 20 *French* men for *Canada*, and travell'd by land

to the country of the *Islinois*, in the end of the month of *March, A. D.* 1686.

"Altho' this road was the most troublesome, yet it serv'd not only to discover the course of the rivers, of which we only saw the mouths, in passing down the *Mississipi;* but also to give us a nearer view of all the people who inhabit along the banks; so that we might take frequent opportunities to contract new alliances with 'em. At first we cross'd the *river of ducks*, so call'd by reason of the numerous flocks of wild ducks with which it is cover'd. Afterwards we pass'd *La Sablonniere*, or the river of sand, which only has for its bed a vast sandy country; then the *Robec*, the banks of which are inhabited by certain people who all speak in the throat, and at last the *malignant river*, in the territories lying about which are the *Quanoatinos*, a people as formidable to the *Iroquois*, upon account of their valour, as for their cruelty. For besides that they fight furiously, without giving quarter, they made a law among themselves to cause as many to be burnt as they can take prisoners. As we continually went forward, we met with the *Tarahas*, the *Cappas*, and the *Palaquessons*, all declar'd enemies of the *Spaniards*.

"I shall not here give a large description of the particular rarities of all those countries and nations; but I shall content my self only to declare, that altho' the said countries are very fine, generally speaking, yet in every one of 'em its peculiar nature and beauty may be more especially observ'd. For some abound in *Indian* corn, of which frumenty is made; others in *tonquo*, and others in *cassave*, of which the natives make a kind of bread.

"An innumerable multitude of *Cibola's* is to be seen amongst those people who live nearest to the sea-coast. There are also vast numbers of beavers amongst the *Ouadiches*, the *Akancéas*, the *Iro-*

quois, and in many other quarters of *America*: and bears are very frequent in the northern parts. As for horses, they are only found among the nations who are neighbours to the *Spaniards*, but one may almost every where see *orignas*, staggs, elks, wolves, ounces, large rams, weathers, and sheep, that have a much finer wool than ours.

"In traversing all these plains, we discover'd a prodigious number of savages, who all entertain'd us with a great deal of courtesie, and with an entire submission to the laws of our monarch. Whilst we were travelling between the *Palaquessons* and the *Nowadiches*, our provisions fail'd, and we were oblig'd to have recourse to hunting; so that three or four of our men, most expert in that exercise, usually left their companions to repair to the woods, where they did not continue long, without bringing us good store of venison. The advantageous and most delightful situation of the territories that lie between two nations, who are well affected to ours, is much to be admir'd, the whole country being extremely fertile in *Indian* corn, and all kinds of fruits, affording also great variety of game, and the pastures abounding in cattel of all sorts, but more especially in horses. All these great advantages induc'd my brother to endeavour to plant a colony in those parts. In order to carry on this design, he judg'd it expedient that I should be sent before to the *Illinois*, as well to inform you of his arrival, as for some other reasons, of which I shall hereafter give you an account. He gave me for my retinue Father *Anastasius*, *Cavelier*, my nephew, M. *de la Marne*, four other *French* men, and two slaves to serve me as interpreters, with two canoos, two pack-horses, and necessary provisions. We parted *May* 15, *A. D.* 1686, and travell'd by land, as well for the conveniency of our horses, as for the frequent supplies we might get

from the savages, who shew as much zeal for the promoting of our interest, as they are the professed enemies of the *Iroquois* and *Spaniards*.

"On the first day we took up our quarters among the *Nouadiches*, who receiv'd us with extended arms, and invited us to joyn with 'em in maintaining a war against the *Spaniards:* they assur'd us, that there was a great deal of gold and silver amongst 'em; that they would willingly leave us all their wealth, and that they would only reserve to themselves the women and children, to make slaves of 'em: however, notwithstanding the little respect we had for the *Spaniards*, we must needs have an aversion to that proposal; for we could not give our consent that the christians should become slaves to the *savages*. Therefore to colour our denial, we reply'd, that our number was not sufficient to be capable of assisting 'em in that war, but that we would go in quest of Captain *Tonti*, to whom we would not fail to represent the same conditions they offer'd us, and that without doubt he would accept of 'em. This answer gave satisfaction to the *savages*, who supply'd us with abundance of provisions, and caus'd us to lodge in their best cottages.

"The next day we pursu'd our journey to the *Cenis* and *Nassonis*. The latter gave us guides to conduct us to the country of *Nabari*, and these last in like manner took care to provide other guides to convey us to the *Naausi*. We were equally well receiv'd by all those people, and we every where found the same dispositions to make an alliance with us, and to live under the protection of our prince. The lands thereabouts are fruitful, and the climate very proper for the planting of vineyards; for vines often spring up there spontaneously; so that one may see clusters of grapes growing amongst the elms, and flourishing under

the shadow of their leaves. One cannot travel three leagues without meeting with some river or brook. There are also herds of beavers: all the people are generally addicted to the adoration of the sun, and have no other cloaths than a certain contexture of rushes, or of very fine mats, which are set out with paintings of several colours, representing the sun, birds, flowers, &c. For matter of arms, they are altogether unknown to 'em, except the bow and arrow; insomuch that the discharge of a fusee or pistol would appear to them, as it were a clap of thunder, preceded by its lightning.

"Afterwards we pass'd from the territories of the *Naausi* to those of the *Cadodaches*, where we were entertain'd after a very generous manner, so that our reception might well be styl'd a splendid triumph. For the principal elders of the nation came forth to meet us, and conducted us thro' two ranks of their armed youth into very neat cottages. The rest of our entertainment was as pleasant and diverting, as the manner of managing it was savage and fantastical; at first, certain tawny women, but well shap'd, and half naked, were very officious in washing our feet in wooden troughs, and then we were serv'd with different messes, very well dress'd: for besides boil'd meat, broth, and venison, the ordinary mess among those people; they presented us with a large dish of roasted turkeys, geese, ducks, and ring-doves, not to forget another dish of broil'd pigeons. But we were disturb'd in the midst of our jollity by a very sad accident which happen'd to M. *de la Marne*, one of our company; forasmuch as the heat of the weather was excessive, occasion'd as well by the climate, as the season of the year; that unfortunate gentleman had a mind to wash himself in a river that runs thro' the village. To which purpose, having chosen a shady place for greater con-

venience, he threw himself into the water, and unhappily fell into an abyss, where he was swallow'd up in a trice; some time after, perceiving that he did not return, we were desirous to go to the place, where he retir'd; but he was not to be found, and we began to suspect that perhaps he might be devour'd by some crocodile: However, the inhabitants having seen the place where he threw himself in, no longer doubted that he was lost in that gulph. And indeed, after having made a search at the very instant, he was taken up dead, and quite disfigur'd.

"I cannot sufficiently express how much we were transported with grief at the sight of so sad a spectacle. The wife of the chief governour came her self to bury him; and after having perform'd the funeral obsequies, decently interring his body, we set up a cross over his tomb: In the mean while, the savages, who were witnesses of our ceremonies, joyn'd their tears with ours, and endeavour'd to comfort us, by doing us all the good offices that lay in their power.

"The next day we met with the *Narchoas* and the *Ouadiches* on the banks of the same river, and about five leagues lower we had a sight of the *Cabinvio's* and *Mentons*. These people not knowing what our arms were, took us for the masters of thunder, and were much afraid of us at the same time. The beavers are very numerous in their country, and more especially in the territory of the *Ozotheoa's*, where they are so common that the inhabitants are oblig'd to burn their skins. These people provided guides to conduct us to the *Akancéas*, on whose jurisdiction they depend. There we began to know our selves; for we saw a cross erected, on the middle of which the king's arms were fixt, and some few paces farther we met with a fine house, built after the *French* fashion, and in-

habited by a certain person nam'd *Couture*, who receiv'd us very kindly, and gave us to understand, that that seat, with all its dependencies, was under your jurisdiction. After having rested there two days, we went to the villages of the *Toriman's*, *Doginga's* and *Cappa's*, to get up to the river *Mississipi*. These last people accommodated us with a *piroque* for two horses that we gave 'em in exchange.

" Thus being wearied with our travels by land, I determin'd to pass on the *Mississipi* again, to the river of the *Illinois*, and Father *Anastasius* was very glad that he had an opportunity to go on board the same canoo with me. M. *Cavelier*, my nephew, took five other *French* men to accompany him, and contenting himself with one savage, left me another, to serve for an interpreter and rower. Having met at our place of *rendez-vous*, in the country of the *Miamis*, we parted; so that he travell'd over the plains, and I embark'd on the river *Mississipi*, *August* 15, *A. D.* 1686.

" It were needless to give a particular account of all the nations that we met, and therefore I shall only make mention of those whom we did not discover in our descent. The *Chicachas* were the first that we found at the distance of 30 leagues from the *Akancéas:* they are a very docil, industrious, valiant and warlike people, and sufficiently numerous to raise an army of 2000 men upon all occasions. We continu'd our course from thence to the *Ouabaches*, within ten leagues of their river, and saw that of the *Massourites* and *Ozages*, which is no less rapid and deep than the *Mississipi*. We pass'd on it during two days, as well with a design to discover the nations inhabiting on its banks, as to get some fresh provisions, and in our passage we descry'd the villages of the *Panivacha's*, *Pera's*, *Panaloga's*, *Matotantes*, and *Ozages*, all gallant, nu-

merous, and good-natur'd people, who among the several messes and varieties of fruits, with which they treated us, caus'd us to eat some grapes of an admirable taste.

"On the third day, after having row'd on that river, we endeavour'd to recover the *Mississipi;* on which, being embark'd in a canoo, we steer'd our course on it for some days, even as far as the river of the *Illinois;* and after thirty days navigation we arriv'd at the foot of *Crevecœur* fort, from whence we return'd to that of St. *Lewis.*" *Indeed we were then so unfortunate, as not to meet with you there, (which was no small trouble to us:) but at present we have the consolation to see you in good health.*

M. *Cavelier* having thus concluded his relation, we renew'd our embraces, but I continued for some time speechless, without being able to make any application to him; for, to say the truth, I did not well know my self, nor in what condition I was at that time. On the one side, the loss of our fleet, and of the greatest part of the *French* mariners, was a very great mortification to me; and on the other side, the assurance that was given me of M. *de la Salle's* welfare, and of the success of so many fine discoveries, oblig'd me to turn my sorrow into joy. I was also extremely surpriz'd at the strangeness of his adventures; but at the same time, the absence of a person, for whom I had so particular a respect, and whose return I had so long expected with the utmost impatience; besides, the regret upon reflecting, that I was not an eye-witness, and a companion of his travels, pierc'd my heart with so sensible a grief, that I was not by any means able to surmount it. Neither could I any longer contain my self, or forbear easing my mind a little, by uttering these mournful expostulations. "Alas! (said I to M. *Cavelier,*) how could it so fall out, that M. *de la Salle,* my patron, and my only

support, should spend two years in returning to *America*, and that during that whole term, I should not be only depriv'd of the pleasure of seeing him, but also should not find means to hear any tidings of him? Or how is it possible that I should not be permitted to embrace him? I must freely declare to you, that notwithstanding the joy which your presence affords me, I find my self seiz'd, in beholding you, with a more intense grief, since the more I look upon you, I am so much the more troubled that I have not a sight of him. Heavens! (continu'd I) has M. *de la Salle* resided in *America* two years, and cannot I as yet lay hold of some opportunity to meet him, or to speak with him? Alas! 'tis not my fault; for as soon as I could judge that he had touch'd at any of the coasts of the gulph of *Mexico*, I made a descent on those countries; I search'd about all the capes and shoars of that sea, as well on the side of *Malcolina*, as on that of *Mexico*; I visited all the people, who inhabited those coasts, *viz.* the *Tichenos*, *Ozembogus*, *Tangibaos*, *Ostonoos*, *Mausoleas*, and *Mousa's*, and enquir'd of them after M. *de la Salle*, but none could give me any manner of account concerning him. Hence then you may take some estimate of my excessive trouble and sorrow."

" How was it possible (reply'd M. *Cavelier*) for you to meet us? You went to seek for us at the mouth of the river *Mississipi*, and on the adjacent coasts; whereas we only landed 25 leagues above it: You follow'd the course of that river, both in your descent, and at your return; but we always kept at a distance from thence, steering to the south-east, and along the gulph of *Mexico*. By what means could you expect to meet with us, in following so contrary courses? *At least* (said I to him) *he ought to have sent some messenger, to give me*

notice of his return." "'Tis true indeed, (said he) and he would certainly have done it if it had lain in his power: but who of those new comers could find out the roads that lay cross the territories of so many *barbarians*, or would be willing to make such an attempt at so great a distance? Or could he spare me, or either of his two nephews for that purpose? Besides, the hopes he had of seeing you ere long in person, made him continually defer to inform you of his arrival." "It must be confess'd (said I then) there is no remedy for what is past; that which revives my spirits is, to hear, that he is in good health, and whereabouts he is: It will not be long (by the help of God) ere we shall go again to find him out. In the mean while (continu'd I) I call to mind, that you have somewhat else more particular to communicate to me from him, and therefore I would entreat you to declare it to me, that I may make due preparation, even as soon as it's possible, for my intended voyage."

"Take it thus (reply'd M. *Cavelier*) my brother being impatient to procure the necessary supplies, for the establishment and maintenance of his new colony, and to cause two ports and two havens to be built, *viz.* one of St. *Lewis's* bay, and the other at the mouth of the river *Mississipi*, the bottom and sides of which he has very accurately observ'd, deputed me for this employment, only with a design that I should incontinently return to *France*, as well to inform the court of his last settlement, and of his great discoveries, as to prepare their minds, and to induce 'em to grant what is requisite upon so emergent an occasion. For that very reason he also sent me to *Quebec*, and gave me a particular charge to wait upon you, in order to borrow some money, upon the receipt of which I will give

you an acquittance, and my brother will place it to account."

After this discourse he presented me with a letter, which was well seal'd with M. *de la Salle's* seal. As for the writing I did not examine it; and besides, the characters us'd by those two gentlemen who wrote almost the same hand, are so like, that 'twould be difficult to find out the difference. However, I read that letter with extreme delight; in which the same request was contain'd, with protestations of an entire trust, and of a most sincere friendship. The joy with which I was transported to hear tidings of so intimate a friend; the candour of the person who deliver'd the letter to me; and the devotion I had made of every thing that I possess'd to the disposal of a person to whom I thought my self infinitely indebted, did not suffer me to take the matter into consideration. I immediately ask'd M. *Cavelier* how much money he desir'd? Whereupon he told me, that he believ'd his brother had mention'd the sum of 7,000 livres. *'Tis true indeed,* (said I,) *but if you have occasion for more, you need only demand it of me, since all that I have is at your service.* He thank'd me heartily, and told me, that in case he should stand in need of somewhat more, he might procure it in *France.* Therefore I paid him the sum of money agreed upon, at that very instant, and he insisted to give me his receipt, according to the order, which (as he said) he had from his brother. I readily consented, and forasmuch as he protested to me that he determin'd to set out on his journey the next day, I gave some refreshment to his attendants, and recruited his provisions. We spent the remainder of the day as pleasantly as we could, and very early the next morning he took leave of me, departing with a *Franciscan Recolet,* and a

slave, with a design to pass into the country of the *Miamis.*

I was also preparing to pass on the river the next day, and every thing was dispos'd for my departure. Having spent the rest of the day with much uneasiness, the next morning I was putting my small cargo on board, when about nine a clock I espy'd coming towards me the Sieur *Couture,* my lieutenant, in the country of the *Akancéas,* where both the *Caveliers, viz.* the uncle and the nephew refresh'd themselves for some time: indeed at first I was very glad to see him, but in a moment after he threw me into a terrible consternation: I immediately enquir'd of him where he left M. *de la Salle?* M. *de la Salle,* (said he,) *do not you know that he is dead? How,* (cry'd I,) *is* M. *de la Salle dead? 'Tis too true,* (reply'd he,) *he is certainly dead; for he was assassinated by his own party, in the territories situated between the* Palaquessons *and the* Nouadiches. "Hey! what d'ye say? (*said I,*) is it possible? Why! M. *Cavelier* his own brother but now took leave of me, and was so far from telling me any thing of this matter, that he gave me a letter under his hand, and did not seem to shew the least mark of grief or concern." *Sir,* (said he,) *I had the information from his own mouth; his tears, and those of his nephew, were too evident a proof of the truth of what they asserted; and I am very sorry that I should be the first that came to bring you so bad news.* I was extremely surpriz'd at this answer, and quite overwhelm'd with grief, insomuch, that for a while I was not able to speak nor weep; neither did I know how to dispose of my self: however, some moments after I rose up, and spoke to this effect; M. *de la Salle, my only protector, is dead,* (as you say,) *and murder'd too by his attendants! O heavens! can this be? But may I know who are those miscreants that durst imbrue*

their hands in the blood of so excellent a patron? They are two ruffians, (reply'd M. *Cousture,*) *nam'd* Dan *and* Lancelot. *Ah! wicked wretches,* (said I,) *by what motive, or rather by what demon were they excited to commit so execrable a fact?* Then I entreated him to tell me all that he knew concerning that matter. "Alass! sir; (said he,) not to trespass too long on your patience, I shall proceed to give you an account of every particular circumstance of his death, as it was related to me.

M. *de la Salle* being recover'd of a very dangerous disease, repair'd to his last colony at fort St. *Lewis,* and departed from thence *March* 26, *A. D.* 1686, with a design to visit his old plantations, accompany'd with about thirty persons; among whom were his brother, his two nephews, the two *Lancelots* brothers; *Dan;* a savage nam'd *Chaouanou;* two *English* free-booters; and one *Hieus,* a *German* by nation.

"On the first day of their march, M. *de la Salle* perceiving that the younger *Lancelot,* being still weak after his recovery from a violent fit of sickness, was not able to follow the rest of the company, determin'd to send him back to the bay; neither could he be prevail'd upon by any means to alter his mind, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties made by his brother, that they might not be parted; insomuch that young *Lancelot* was at last oblig'd to return to the place appointed. These proceedings which appear'd to be arbitrary and imperious, were hard to be digested by a man of courage. In the mean while it unfortunately happen'd that this young man was met on the road by certain savages, who cut his throat, and the news was brought the same day to his elder brother, who could not restrain the excess of his grief. He immediately laid the blame on M. *de la Salle,* and from that very moment, being transported with

rage and passion, he swore his destruction. After having given himself up for some time to complaints and lamentations, he suddenly stifled his indignation, designing to let it break forth again with greater vehemency upon some favourable opportunity. Therefore he follow'd the rest of the company; but after two months march, their provisions failing between the territories of the *Palaquessons* and the *Noadiches; Dan* and *Lancelot* made an agreement to go a hunting in the woods, and sollicited the Sieur *de Moranget* to accompany 'em. The unfortunate gentleman, without mistrusting any thing, condescended by way of complaisance, to grant their request. But the two ruffians, who being excited as well by envy, upon account of his singular merits, as by the implacable hatred that they bore his uncle, had long ago form'd a design upon his life; having now insensibly drawn him aside, reek'd their malice upon him, to which purpose they gave him a blow on the head with a hatchet, of which he died two hours after, like a good christian, heartily forgiving his enemies; of whose revenge this was the first effort.

"The day being ended, and M. *de la Salle* not seeing his nephew return, nor his companions, spent the night in a strange perplexity: the next day he went himself to the place where he judg'd that they might have been, and was soon follow'd by Father *Anastasius*, his brother, and his lacquey, neither was much time spent ere he found the person whom he sought for. For being arriv'd in a meadow, situated on the side of the river *Mississipi*, he espy'd *Lancelot's* footman thro' the grass, which was very high, and instantly ask'd him what was become of *De Moranget* his nephew? The villain impudently answer'd that he might go look him on the bank; and indeed the body of that

unfortunate young gentleman lay extended there, and two vulturs were fluttering over it, to get their prey. In the mean while those two perfidious wretches lay hid in the grass, with their fusees ready cockt; and as M. *de la Salle* was drawing near the footman to chastise him, he was shot in the head with three balls which *Lancelot* had discharg'd against him; whereupon he fell to the ground with his face all over bloody. Father *Anastasius* and his brother having heard the report of the gun, immediately ran to him, and found him dying, but not as yet altogether destitute of sense and knowledge. Neither did their grief hinder 'em from assisting him at his last gasp, at least with respect to the salvation of his soul: for he had time and strength sufficient to make his confession, and to offer up himself to God, as it were a solemn sacrifice. This was the last effect of their rage, and the tragical end of our illustrious hero, and of your good friend."

These last words struck me to the very heart, insomuch, that I had no strength left to complain: I continu'd dumb and unmoveable for some time; but at last the violence of my grief causing me to come out of my consternation by the means of a suddain flood of tears; "O heavens! (said I,) shall I never see M. *de la Sallè* again? Alass! what hope, what help is there now left me? What will become of all those blooming families, of which he was the common father, the main support, and the only consolation? What a desperate condition are they in? How many brave undertakings are now spoil'd, and how many persons are ruin'd by the loss of one single man? Alass! is it possible that a person so venerable for his virtue; and so useful to *France*, upon account of his great discoveries; or that a man so universally respected and beloved, even by the most barbarous people, should

be massacred by his own followers? Is there any punishment severe enough for these murderers; I say, for those wretched caitifs! But where shall we find 'em? Oh! that I could discover 'em, and bring 'em to condign punishment. Their business is already done, (then said *Cousture,*) those villains are already punish'd, if their death may be thought sufficient to expiate their guilt. After what manner (said I) did the earth open to swallow 'em up, or did Heaven strike 'em dead with thunder? No, sir, (reply'd he,) their comerades did 'em justice. These profligate wretches, after they had perpetrated that horrid fact, determin'd in like manner to destroy all the rest, that they might not leave any witnesses of their crime; but the two *English* men feigning to espouse their interest, and to justifie their wicked action, obtain'd a pardon for the brother, and the nephew that surviv'd their kinsman, with leave to bury the two dead bodies.

Whilst these two afflicted relations, and the good monk were employ'd in performing their last devoirs to the deceased, those perfidious villains ran to seize on the rest of M. *de la Salle's* effects; the whole cargo consisting in ten horses, some pieces of linnen-cloth and merchandizes, to the value of about 2,000 crowns. As soon as they had taken possession of all the goods, the rest of the company was oblig'd to make a vertue of necessity, and to joyn with 'em. The brother and the nephew, who had redeem'd their life by silence, and by a voluntary resignation of every thing, were likewise forc'd to follow the torrent. Afterwards they arriv'd at the village of the *Nouadiches*, among whom dwelt certain *French* men, who had deserted M. *de la Salle* in his life-time. These people perceiving the arrival of this new company, very well arm'd, and moderately accoutred, were no less

overjoy'd to see 'em than the French were, entertain'd 'em very honourably; and at the first salute invited 'em to be their companions in their expedition against the *Quoanantino's*. It being requisite to suit themselves to the time; and to comply with the present exigency of affairs, they all enter'd into that association, except the two *Caveliers*, and the Father *Recolet*.

" In the mean while *Lancelot* and *Dan*, who had set up for commanders in chief of the company, took up their lodging apart; absolutely dispos'd of all the effects of M. *de la Salle*, at their pleasure; diverted themselves at his cost, and made good cheer. But the departure of the savages was daily expected. The *English* man and the *German*, that had no share in the spoils of the deceased, and who nevertheless stood in great need of necessary accoutrements, went well arm'd to meet their pretended commanders in their tent, and entreated 'em to take care that they might be supply'd with some linnen for their new expedition. *Lancelot* treated 'em rudely; the *English* man reiterated his demands; and the former made him a second denial, with much more refractorines than before. Whereupon the *English* man upbraiding him, said, *' thou art a vile traytor; thou hast kill'd thy master and mine;'* and at that very instant drawing a pistol from his girdle, he shot three balls into his reins, and laid him sprawling on the ground. *Dan* immediately ran to his fusee, but the *German* soon stopt his career, broke his head, and kill'd him outright. Some of the company hearing the noise, ran towards 'em forthwith, and Father *Anastasius* found one stone-dead, and the other dying: He confess'd *Lancelot*, who was M. *de la Salle's* murderer, and had scarce given him absolution, when a certain *French* man burnt his hair with a pistol-shot, without ball; insomuch, that the fire instantly taking hold of his shirt, which

was very greasie, the miserable wretch expir'd amidst the flames." Thus those wicked murderers perish'd according to their deserts, whose crime was of too deep a dye to remain long unpunish'd, and 'tis not to be doubted that those who shall read this narrative, will conceive a just indignation against the like bloody assassins.

"Afterwards the *English* man and the *German* made themselves masters of their spoils, and offer'd 'em all to the discretion of the two M. *Caveliers*, who only took as much as was necessary for their journey; and having left 'em the rest, came to me in the country of the *Akancéas*. They were the uncle and the nephew, accompany'd with M. *de la Marne*, and M. *Joustel*, and a *Chaouanou* savage, and I had all that I have related from their own mouth: I was also an eye-witness of their lamentations and tears; they rested two days in your house, and on the third following they set out for the *Illinois*. Thus, sir, I have given you a particular account of what you desir'd, according to the best of my knowledge."

"I only convers'd (said I then) with the uncle and the Father *Recolet*, but as for the nephew, M. *Joustel* and the *Chaouanou*, I had no sight of 'em. As for M. *de la Marne*, I remember that M. *Cavelier* told me that he was drown'd; nevertheless, I cannot recover my self from my surprize, when I reflect on the constancy and tranquillity of mind, with which he related to me the particular circumstances of his whole voyage, and all his adventures. 'Tis a common saying, that deep sorrow is dumb, and I dare not call in question the sincerity of his; but I am certain, that he has made no scruple to cross the proverb." "He had some occasion to use dissimulation, (reply'd *Couture*,) he was willing somewhat to allay his grief, by the telling of long stories; and besides, he had some by-ends, and

some particular reasons for such a deportment at that time.

" I very well comprehend your meaning, (said I,) he was desirous to borrow money of me, and he was afraid, lest I should refuse to lend him any, if he inform'd me of his brother's death. But alass! I was too much indebted to his name and family to deny him any thing. Would to God I had nothing left in the world, and had not lost my honoured protector, my dear patron, and my most faithful friend! But alass! all our lamentations are to no purpose; and since we cannot repair so great a loss, let us at least arm ourselves with patience; let us also endeavour to bring to perfection what he has so happily begun."

At that very instant I encourag'd my self in my resolution to make another voyage, with a design not only to carry relief to those poor *French* men, who were abandon'd on the sea-shoar, but also to undertake some new enterprize, that might afford me some consolation for the loss I had sustain'd. To that purpose I made preparations for a new descent to the seas, and to visit all those nations that were lately discover'd by M. *de la Salle*, and mention'd to me by his brother.

In the mean while I receiv'd a letter from the Marquis *D'Enonville*, our governour; the purport of which was to inform me, that we were engag'd in a war against the *Spaniards*, and by which he gave me free liberty to make what attempts I could upon 'em. This letter, in conjunction with what M. *Cavelier* had told me concerning those nations, who were ready to make war with 'em, animated me so much the more to hasten my journey. Therefore I set out *Decemb.* 3, *A. D.* 1687, accompany'd with five *French* men, four *Chaouanous*, and some other savages, and left my cousin *De Liette*, com-

mander of fort St. *Lewis*. My first journey ended in the village of the *Illinois*, and I found 'em lately come back from an expedition against divers neighbouring people, from whom they carry'd away 130 prisoners.

From thence I pass'd to the *Cappa's*, who gave me very good entertainment, and some time after the *Toginga's* and *Torimans* receiv'd me with the like demonstration of friendship and respect. Then the course of my journey brought me to the *Ossotoues*, where I built an house for the convenience of traffick. There I spent five or six days, during which, I made new purchaces, and encreas'd my store of provisions. I departed from my house in the month of *February*, 1688, and after some days travelling I got up again to the great village of *Taensas*. As we were pursuing that journey, one of my *Chaouanous* being attack'd by three *Chachouma's*, kill'd one of them, and himself receiv'd a slight wound on the pap, with the glancing of an arrow. But a far greater disaster befel us during that journey. For two *French* men of my company stragling in the woods to hunt, were assaulted by a party of *Naches*, and unfortunately kill'd. We were so much the more sensible of this indignity, in regard that 'twas impossible for us to revenge it, not being able to come up with those *savages*.

Upon our arrival among the *Taensas*, the principal elders of that nation inform'd me of the contest they had with the *Nachitoches*, about salt, of which the latter would not suffer 'em to have any share, and entreated me to be mediatour for the making up of their differences. I readily accepted of the office; so that thirty *Taensas* having joyn'd our company, we arriv'd, after eight days march, at the village of the *Nachitoches*. This nation constitutes only one state with two others, *viz.* the

Ouasita's and the *Capichis.* The chief commanders of these three sorts of people being met together, they caused me to sit down in the middle of 'em; but the thirty *Taensa's* before they took their place, desir'd leave to go to the temple, to implore the assistance of their God, for the obtaining a firm peace. (Here 'tis observable by the way, that the sun is the Deity which is most commonly ador'd among all those people.) Therefore these *Taensa's* were actually conducted to the temple; and after having said their prayers, were brought back to the assembly, where they call'd their God to witness the sincerity of their intentions, as to the matter of peace; made their presents to the three several nations; and nominated me for guarantee of their treaty. Whereupon I promoted their interest as far as it lay in my power, making the best of their claim, and at last brought matters to a good accommodation; insomuch that the *Nachitoches* promis'd to supply 'em with salt, in exchange for their skins and grains. Upon the breaking up of the convention they took a reciprocal oath to maintain peace and an amicable correspondence one with another, and danc'd the *calumet,* according to the usual custom of the *Americans.* Afterwards I took my leave of both those nations.

The *Nachitoches* provided five guides to conduct me to the village of the *Yataches,* and to go thither, I was oblig'd to pass on the river *Onoroyste,* about 30 leagues. During our course we found fifteen cottages of the *Naches,* and took up our lodging amongst 'em that night, continually standing upon our guard. The next day, having met with twelve of 'em apart, we did not spare 'em, but reveng'd the death of our *French* men, whom they had barbarously assassinated. After having travell'd for some days, we arriv'd in the territories of the *Yataches,* who are united to two other

nations, that make three villages together, *viz.* the *Yataches*, the *Onodo's*, and the *Choyo's*. As soon as they had notice of our arrival, they came three leagues to meet us and brought us, good provisions for our refreshment. Afterwards we went out of the Champion country to their village, and the chief elders entertain'd us at several feasts. Then I made 'em some presents, and desir'd that I might have guides to conduct me to the *Quodadiquio's*. They made a great deal of difficulty to grant me any, by reason that three days ago they massacred three of their ambassadors; nevertheless, by the means of entreaties and protestations to defend 'em, they were at last prevail'd upon to furnish us with five.

When we drew near the three villages, we discern'd the tracts of horses and men on the road, and indeed in the morning divers horsemen appear'd, and offer'd to convey us thither. I was attended with 20 fusileers, well arm'd, and so in a condition to keep those savages in awe. I had no sooner enter'd the village but a certain woman, who held the first rank in that country, made an address to me, and importun'd me to revenge her husband's death, who was kill'd by the *Yataches*. A little while after another woman came to me to make the same complaint, and they apparently were the wives of those ambassadors, whom the *Yataches* had assassinated not long before. All the people seem'd to be concern'd at their death; and forasmuch as they were sollicitous about that affair, I made a promise both to the widows, and to the people, to take vengeance for the murder of their husbands and ambassadors. Then they conducted me to their temple, wash'd my face with water, before they permitted me to enter; and after having pray'd to God for the space of one quarter of an hour, they led me back into the

cottage of one of those women, where I was magnificently entertain'd. There I was inform'd, that the seven *French* men who were separated from *Cavelier*, after the death of M. *de la Salle*, were still living among the *Nouadiches*. I was extremely delighted with this piece of news, and hop'd to put an end to my evils, if I could once find means to meet 'em again. Therefore having pass'd the rest of the day among the *Quadodiquio's*, I entreated 'em to furnish me with guides, and assur'd 'em that at my return I would either oblige the *Yatsches* to give 'em satisfaction, or I would require blood for blood at their hands.

The *Quadodiquio's* are united to two other nations, *viz.* the *Nappitoche's* and the *Nassonis*, whose territories are situated on the red river. These three nations speak the same language, yet their assemblies are not conven'd by villages, but by habitations, very remote one from another. Their countries are very fine, affording abundance of game, and variety of fish; but there are very few oxen. These people maintain cruel wars against their neighbours; insomuch that their villages are not very populous. They all have very fine horses which they call *cavallio's*. The men and women have their faces prick'd, and even all the other parts of their bodies: and indeed the fantastical humours of men is altogether unaccountable, since that which is look'd upon as deformity in one country, passes for beauty in another. Their river is call'd the *red*, because it actually throws up abundance of sand, which renders it as red as blood.

I set out from thence *April* 6, *A. D.* 1690, with two slaves, who were my guides, for the country of the *Nouadiches*. As we were travelling on the road, we met with certain savages of that nation a hunting, who assur'd us, that they had left our *French* men at home, which was very joyful news

to me, but at the same time I had the misfortune to lose a young *French* man of my retinue; he found means to return three days after, but without his snap-sack, where I had put the best part of my provisions, which created me a great deal of trouble. However, not thinking fit to take any notice of his neglect, we took up our quarters that night within half a league of the village of the *Nouadiches*, where the principal elders came forth to meet us. I instantly enquir'd of 'em after our *French* men, and they answer'd, that they were in good health; but forasmuch as they were not to be seen, I could promise myself no good by it. The next day, being arriv'd at their village, and none of 'em appearing, my suspicion was still increas'd. The chief governors of the nation did not fail to offer me the *calumet;* but I refus'd to accept of any thing at their hands, till they had produc'd the *French* men. When they perceiv'd that I persisted in my resolution, they confess'd that our *French* men having accompany'd 'em in the war against the *Spaniards*, were surrounded by the horse; that three of 'em were kill'd; and that the other four retiring to the *Quonantino's*, they never heard any tidings of 'em since that time. I reply'd, that certainly they themselves had murder'd 'em; they deny'd it stiffly, and forasmuch as I incessantly accus'd 'em, their wives fell a weeping, and made me understand by their tears, that the information concerning their death was too true.

The *Nouadiches* us'd their utmost efforts to clear themselves, and offer'd me the *calumet* a second time; I told 'em that I would not accept of it, till I were thoroughly convinc'd of their innocence as to that point, and that nevertheless if I could be serviceable to 'em in any thing, they should find my fidelity inviolable. The chief commander an-

swer'd my kind expressions with a present of ten fine horses, well harness'd, and I gave him seven hatchets, with a set of glasses.

We left their country, *May* 29, and advanc'd within a day's journey of the *Palaquessons*, where we were inform'd that the last colony establish'd by M. *de la Salle* on the coast of the gulph of *Mexico*, not having been able to maintain it self in a perfect union, was quite dispers'd; that some were intermixed with the savages, and that others found means to get to the *French* plantations in other places. Therefore not judging it expedient to seek for 'em where they were no longer to be found, I took a resolution to return the same way I came. In the mean while I endeavour'd to pass to the village of *Coroas*, but a prodigious inundation happening, by reason of the extraordinary rains, which continu'd for three days successively, we were involv'd in the greatest streight imaginable: for the water every where rose up to the middle leg at least; insomuch, that we were forc'd to sleep, and to make fires on thick trees, and we thought ourselves happy, in being then provided with cassave, beef, and venison: we continu'd three or four days in this forlorn condition, but as good luck would have it, we discover'd a small island, which the waters had not as yet overflow'd, and we retir'd thither for a day and a night: our horses were somewhat recruited there, and the ground being suddenly dry'd by the excessive heat of the season, and of the climate, we got up in a day's journey to the village of *Coroas*. I cannot sufficiently express the noble entertainment we met with among those people who employ'd several persons every day in fishing and hunting, on purpose to treat us, and supply'd us with abundance of pullets, geese, pigeons, and turkeys. But that

which redoubled my joy is, that two of those *French* men, whom I sought for among the *Nouadichés*, were luckily found here; and that I had so favourable an opportunity to re-unite 'em to my company.

I took my leave of the *Coroas*, *July* 20th, and arriv'd on the 31st, in the territories of the *Akancéa's*, where I was seiz'd with a fever, which oblig'd me to stay there till *August* 15. After I had a little recover'd my strength, I set forward again in my journey to the country of the *Illinois*, and arriv'd there in the month of *September*. Thus the treaty of peace concluded between the *Taensa's* and the *Nachitoches*; the pleasure of being most kindly entertain'd by all the savage people; and the satisfaction of bringing back two *French* men, whom I had given over for lost; were the fruits of my last voyage.

By this relation one may take an estimate of the riches and beauty of all those countries, inhabited by so many people, that are all in a manner already brought under subjection, and who have a perfect idea of the grandeur of our monarch. It cannot be conceiv'd how much that continent abounds, as well in all sorts of grain and fruit, as in variety of cattel. 'Tis surrounded on all sides with great seas, the shoars of which are very deep, and seem to present us with natural ports; insomuch, that three or four havens on the gulph of *Mexico* would undoubtedly secure for us the possession of those territories. The *French* are generally so well belov'd, that to make themselves masters of 'em, they have nothing to do but to settle there incontinently, and to plant their colonies. What is wanting, may be transported thither by our vessels; as in like manner what is wanting in our country, may be brought us from thence. For

from those parts we have our principal stores of skins; we might also get silks, timber for ships, and divers other commodities. If there be a scarcity of corn and wine, 'tis less occasion'd by the defect of the soil, than for want of the improvement of husbandry. Lastly, to procure all the treasures of nature, 'tis only requisite to bestow some pains in seeking for 'em, and to improve 'em when found. Such is the state of affairs in that country: God grant that a happy and lasting peace may soon put us in possession, and secure us in the enjoyment of these advantages.

AN

EXTRACT OF A TRANSLATION

OF

THE HISTORY OF NEW SWEED LAND,

IN AMERICA.

WRITTEN IN SWEED, BY THOMAS CAMPANIUS HOLM, LATE OF NEW SWEED LAND, ALS DELAWARE, AND PRINTED AT STOCKHOLM, A. D. 1702.

AN

EXTRACT OF A TRANSLATION

OF

THE HISTORY OF NEW SWEED LAND,

IN AMERICA.

THE province New Sweed Land, doth lye in the northern part of America. And Virginia, and some imagine that its name is arrived, that is Virgini from a king whose name was called Vignina; but we read in later histories that its name arrived from the queen of England, Elizabeth, who lived and dyed a virgin. It lyeth in 37 degrees to its height, as the Virginia Company in the year 1606 have observed with their artices. It stretcheth east to the great ocean, south unto Florida, north unto New France, and westward to places yet unknown and not as yet discovered. But New Sweed Land lyeth to its height, 39 degrees, 40 minutes, of each side of Delaware river, containing in length from Cape Inlopen at the bay about 30 miles up to the falls, north east, which the Sweeds have purchased from the right owners in America. The bay in its entrance is 9 miles long and 6 or 7 miles broad, the natives called it Poutaxat, the English Delaware bay, of Mons. de la Ware, named after one of their captains, which this river discovered in the year *A. D.* 1600, under Admiral Jaques Chartier. The Dutch call it South River or New Nether Land, as a particular dividing it from the north river, which they possessed at New

Amsterdam, but the Sweeds call it New Sweed Land's stream.

When the Sweeds the first time made their voyage into this country, it seemed to them so pleasant, and where they first landed, which was at Cape Inlop, and when they set their feet a shore they called the place Paradise Point.

By Cape Hinlopen there groweth Indian corn very plenty. Betwixt Murder creek and Wolfe creek there groweth a multitude of mulberries, cypress, and cedar trees, two or three fathom thick, there is also curious meadows. In the Wolfe creek there is curious black clay, and when it is well tempered it will make good ink, and it is good to paint with, for it is very black; there is likewise blew clay, when the said clay is well tempered it serves for blew paint.

By Spinnel Point, when the south wind blows, the shore there will be drove full with sea spinnels, who of themselves are not able to get into the sea again; they are as big as turtles, and they have almost such houses over them, but of the yellow horn they have many feet, and their tails are half a yard long, as a three edged saw, with which one may saw off the hardest tree that is. When they are well boiled and dressed, they tast as good as great crabs, who come up from the sea upon the shore. And in Amke creek there is extraordinary good blew clay.

At Christiana creek is the fort Christiana built, and behind that a little town laid out by the ingenier, Peter Lindstrom, and afterwards built and settled, but afterwards ruined by the Dutch. The said Christiana creek is deep and navigable, and it runs far in the country, and is upon both sides, and as well as up to Menajackse creek, good land both to sew and plant, and there groweth several sorts of rare trees. In its recommendation I cannot

well find words to explain my self about its fertility, so that it may well be called a land that flows with milk and honey.

At Christiana there groweth abundance of grapes, and the Sweeds have at a time found there a vine with grapes which was two yards thick, which thickness neither before or since hath been seen or heard of.

By Tenna Kong's shore, is gummi, gutta, when that is tempered, then is she so good as gelb ocker, but in the said country they use to colour drest skins with it; and upon the said place there groweth abundance of walnut and chesnut-trees, and sassafrax-trees, which smell exceeding well. Upon the south side of Tenna Kong Island there is an insea where there is abundance of fowles.

Foglesand is a white little island that is drye in the sommer time.

In Huiskakimensi sippus or creek, and at Hickory island there is red clay, when that is dryed, pounded and well tempered, they may use it instead of Cinnabar.

In Swapeksisko, or white clay creek, there is very good white clay, when it is dry and well tempered it is as good as white lead.

From Grape Vine Point up unto Nittabakonk, groweth abundance of white, brown, and red grapes.

From Nejakue and unto Poenpissings creek, there is no land settled or cultivated either by the Christians or Indians, and it seems to be fertile land; and by the river side there is no opposition with sholes or reed marshes to hinder the passage to the shore, only the shore is stony.

From Sippaessing and unto Nyeck's creek is very good land, as there is at Sippaessing, only it doth not stretch so far into the country, but only in

a crook round the creek, and there is good pasturage for cattle.

Over against Poaetquessingh there useth a sort of fish there with long great teeth, which the Indians call manitto, that is, the devil: he plungeth in the water very much, and spouts the water up as a whale, and the same sort is not seen or found elsewhere in the river.

In Merckatz creek grows wild hopps, and over against Plom Point grows beech, plum-trees, mulberry-trees, and chesnut-trees.

About Wickons Sippus, or Pike Creek, grows much peaches and grapes, and in the meadows callamus roots.

Against Sippaessing, and about Mehanhickan, there grows abundance of white, black, and red oak.

By Shankhickan groweth winter oak, whose leaves set upon the trees all winter, and do not fall off before the spring.

About the Fall of Alumingh grows walnut, chesnut, peach, mulberry-trees, and several sorts of plum-trees and grapes, hemp and hopps abundance. In this river grows a sort that they call callibashes, and grow upon vines, and run along the ground. They are shaped as a pear in figure. Some are as big as a great pumpion, and some so little as a little snuff-box; they are yellow, smooth, and thin as glass, hard and tough as horn. If they chance to fall upon the floor they will not split to pieces. Within they are full of seed like unto pumpion-seed: when they are taken out, then one gets a good vessel for several uses. If one would saw them in two, they will make funnels, cups, and dishes; and for the rarity's sake one may top them with silver. A parcel of them is so big that they will hold a gallon or more.

The map of those American parts which is hereunto annexed is of the ingenieur Pieter Lindstrom made at large four yards long, and two yards broad; and was set up in the king's great hall at Stockholm in the year 1696, when King Charles the XI. of glorious memory. And upon the humble address that the Sweeds in Pensylvania and the territories made unto his majesty for ministers and books, his majesty was graciously pleased to send them ministers and books, and also he was graciously pleased and caused to be printed several hundreds of chatechisms which my grand father, Doctor John Campanius Holm, formerly minister, had translated into the American speech, and it was concluded, and like to send the map of New Sweed Land.

As concerning the time when this country is and was settled by the Sweeds and cultivated, which was done in the great heroe's time, in glorious memory, King Gustavus Adolphus' reign, who amongst his so many troubles and cares that he had for his subjects and the whole kingdom, he thought it necessary, together with his council, to settle a colony in America, and a company there to advance trade abroad as well as at home. Moreover there was an eminent merchant, by name Wilhelm Useling, he much applauded this country, what for a fruitful, fertil land this was, abounding with all necessaries for man's life, and there should be erected there a West-India Company, and the said Useling did his utmost endeavour to promote it, and through his means it was put in agitation, that a West-India Company was put on foot, and a contract was made which the said Useling was the contriver of, and it was in Dutch, but afterwards translated into Sweeds by Erico Scrodero, anno 1626, in which he perswades the Sweedish nation with many substantial

reasons and arguments for to settle a colony in America. And the chiefest are as followeth:

1. That the christian religion by that means should be planted amongst the heathens.

2. That his majesty would enlarge his dominions, and enrich the treasury, and lessen the publick duties.

3. That it would be much advantage to the publick, and a great ease for them. Besides what benefit every one would reap thereby, which the said Useling hath made proposition of, how and which way it should be put in execution, and how that the Sweeds they had as good convenience and plenty of many merchandizes, shipping and tradesmen as any nation in Europe, and then he concludes with these following words: If every good subject would, according to his ability, without delay distribute to put this in execution, not one to stay for another, but who should be the first, then there should be no want of money, and the kingdom through the Lord's mercy should have another eye, prosperity and encrease of wealth, than it hath had hitherto. The publick taxes would be lessened, and what contribution hereafter shall be wanting will be easy to discharge, and in process of time every industrious body will thrive. And lastly, it would greatly tend to the honour of God his and man's salvation and wellfare, and to his majesty's service for the good of the kingdom, and very beneficial to the whole publick in general.

In consideration of what is specified, his majesty Gustavus caused his proclamations to be issued out, dated Stockholm, the 2d of July, anno 1626, and all in general both high and low were exhorted to contribute to this company, and the following year 1627, at the general assembly then held at Stockholm, it was also then confirmed by his

majesty King Gustavus Adolphus in glorious memory. Insomuch that his majesty's mother and the Pfiatzgrave of Rein Charles, who, after the Queen Christiania, succeeded her, and was crowned King of Sweedland, they gave considerable sums. And the lords of the counsel, the chiefest of the barons and knights, the coronet and the chief officers of the militia, the bishops and some of the clergy, and the mayor and aldermen in the cities, and a great many of the common people, the time that was concluded upon to gether and to bring them in by the first of March; and those that lived further, as Fin land and Liff land, should bring in their money by the first of May, the following year. After which time none should be received in the said West-India Company, and to further it and put all things in forwardness, there was several responsible persons chosen to see every thing that was proposed put in execution. Amongst those was one admiral, a vice admiral, merchants, factors, and commissaries. And it was concluded to get as many as they thought fitt of those that were free and voluntary to ship themselves unto New Sweed land to settle it, and to cultivate it. Amongst them there was some Finns from Finland.

When the Sweeds arrived first into this country so have they endeavoured to live in peace and quietness with the natives, the Americans, and their chiefs have they given valuable gifts, and afterwards have they purchased from the natives all the land from cape In Lopen in the bay unto the Great Fall up Delaware, and so they have had a full possession. And whereas his majesty in glorious memory King Charles the First, in the year 1631, when his excellence John Oxenstierna was sent an ambassadeur unto England unto his majesty, and then all claim and pretensions which the En-

glish had was given up to the Sweeds, which consisted therein, that the English said they had first made a discovery of it.

What pretence the Dutch they laid in the South River, or New Sweed land, and their claim the Sweeds have bought from the states. Their claim consisted therein, that they before had settled there, and that they had built three forts there, and most of them had been killed by the Indians and destroyed, and when the Sweeds arrived there, they had quite acquitted it. As the Sweeds Governeur John Rising in his two relations specifieth.

The amity, league, and friendship, that the Sweeds formerly had erected with the Americans was afterwards again renewed when Mr. John Clandy Rysing was ordained commissarius, and an assistant to the governeur in New Sweed land, and at his arrival the governeur John Printz was then already sailed for Sweeden; and he had ordained his son-in-law, Mr. John Papegoia deputy governeur in his place; and he at last also would go to his native country. He left the government to John Rysing, and the management thereof, and as soon as he came to the government he renewed with the English and Dutch, and also with the Americans, the offer of former friendship that was betwixt them, which the ingeneur Peter Lindstrom in his relation, the second chapter, at large doth specify.

The 17th of June, 1654, was gethered together at Prince Hall at Tennacum, ten of the Sachemans of the Indian Chiefs, and there then at that time was spoken to them in the behalf of the great Queen of Sweed land for to renew the old league and friendship that was betwixt them, and that the Sweeds had bought and purchased the land of them. They complained that the Sweeds they should have brought in with them much evil, be-

cause so many of them since are dead and expired. Then there was given unto them considerable presents, and parted amongst them. When they had received the presents they went out, and had a conference amongst them a pretty while, and came in again, and then spoke one of the chiefs, by name Noaman; rebuked the rest, and that they had spoken evil of the Sweeds, and done them harm, and that they should do so no more, for they were good people. Look, said he, pointing upon the presents, what they have brought us, and they desire our friendship, and then he stroked himself three times down his arm, which was as an especial token of friendship. Afterwards he thanked for the presents they had received, which he did in all their behalfs, and said that there should hereafter be observed and kept a more strict friendship amongst them than there hath been hitherto. That as they had been in Governeur Printz his time, one body and one heart, (beating and knocking upon his breast) they should hence forward be as one head. For a token waving with both his hands, and made as if he would tye a strong knott; and then he made this comparison, that as the callibash is of growth round without any crack, also they from henceforth hereafter as one body without any separation, and if they heard or understood that any one would do them or any of theirs any harm, we should give them timely notice thereof, and likewise if they heard any mischief plotting against the christians, they would give them notice thereof if it was at midnight. And then answer was made unto them, that that would be a true and lasting friendship if every one would consent to it. And upon the said sayings they made a general shout, and consented to it. Then the great guns were fired, which pleased them exceedingly well, saying,

Pu, hu hu, mokirick pickon, that is, Hear! now believe! the great guns are fired. And then they were treated with wine and brandy. Then stood up another of the Indians and spoke, and admonished all in general that they should keep the league and friendship with the christians that was made, and in no manner of way violate the same, and do them no manner of injury, not to their hoggs or their cattle; and if any one should be found guilty thereof, they should be severely punished, others to an example; they advised that we should settle some Sweeds upon Passaiunck, where then there lived a power of Indians, for to observe if they did any mischief, they should be punished. Moreover, that all the land that the Sweeds had bought and purchased, should be confirmed, the copies of the agreements were then punctually read unto them. But the originals were at Stockholm, and when their names that had signed, they seemed when they heard it rejoiced, but when any one's name was read that was dead, they hung their heads down, and seemed to be sorrowful. And then there was set upon the floor in the great hall two great kettles, and a great many other vessels with sappan, that is, mush, made of Indian corn, or Indian wheat, as groweth there in an abundance. But the sachemans they sate by themselves, but the common sort of Indians they fed heartily, and were satisfied. The above-mentioned treaty and friendship that then was made betwixt the Sweeds and the Indians hath been ever since kept and observed, and that the Sweeds have not been by them molested.

As concerning what forts the Sweeds built in New Sweeden, so are these the most noted ones as followeth:

Hopokahacking, that is, Christiana fort. This was the first that was built, which the Sweeds, and

of the Sweeds, when they came in the country in the year 1631, and by it was a little town laid out by the ingeneur Peter Lindstrom, and afterwards settled by the Sweeds, and was called the town of Christiana Harbour, and when the Dutch besiged the fort they demolished it, and ruined it.

Tutæ æ nungh Teniko; in this fort did the Governeur John Printz live, and he caused it to be called New Gottenburgh, where he also caused to be built a settlement for himself and his family, which was very artificially contrived and well built, with a fine orchard, pleasure house, and the like, and was called Printz-hall. Upon this island had all the principal freemen their dwellings and plantations.

The fort Christiana doth lye west from New Gottenburgh, east from each other, and it is reckoned three leagues from each other. In New Gottenburgh the Sweeds have built a church, of which Dr. John Campanius makes this observation, anno 1646, the fourth of September, the last day of those, that we call it a day of humiliation, which is also the custom in Sweed land, did the said Campanius consecrate the said church in Tennacum and the burying place. The first corps that was buried there was Andrew Hanson's daughter Catherine, [Andrew daughter,] and she was buried the 28th of October, which was Simon and Jude's day.

Mocoponacka, which is called Chester, was a bare place without a fort, but there was some houses built there. It was good even land there by the sea shore, situated betwixt Christiana fort and New Gottenburgh, though nearer the latter, and there was also a fort built there sometime after.

Wootsessung Sing, that is, Elfsburgh, that fort doth lye and is situated south from Christiana,

nearest to the Cape Inlopen in the bay, which fort the Governeur John Printz caused to be built when he came in the country; he lyeth about four leagues from Christiana. It was mounted with great guns, and when the Sweeds came in from Sweeden with their ships, they were wellcomed there with the great guns; but it was at last within a few years demolished by the Sweeds, for they could not live there by reason of the multitude of musketoes that was there, and when they went from thence, they called it Muskeeteburgh.

Passaiung, was the commander Swen Skute's donation, and under that was Korsholm fort situated. But after Governeur John Printz went to Sweed land, it was quitted by the Sweeds, and afterwards burnt and ruined by the Indians.

Manaijung, that is, Skoolkill fort, this was a handsome little fort built of loggs with sand and stones, filled up betwixt the loggs, and pallisadoes cut very sharp towards the top; he laid four miles from Christiana; east he was mounted with great guns, as well as the other forts. The forts are all situated by the water side.

Chinsessing* was called the new fort. This was no fort, but good strong log houses, built of good strong hard hickory, two stories high, which was a fort good and strong enough to secure themselves from the Indians. For what signifieth a fort when the people therein boast of the strength of the place, and do not crave for God's assistance. And there lived five freemen who plough, sow, plant, and manure the land, and they lived very well there, for the governeur had settled them there.

Karrahung stream or water mill; by this place is a strong stream, and hath extraordinary conve-

* The township is now called Kingsess.

niences to build mills there, and the government caused a mill to be built there.

[Here are two leaves torn out of the printed history.]

to repair their forts, they had not money to go through with as they should have done, and besides the Swedish ships that were sent for to bring them relief were in their journey to America, by the Spaniards hindered, which was done in favour to the emperor and the king of Poland, as the famous Doctor Johannes Loccenius relates in his history, page 556; and with this occasion the Dutch did not sit idle but envied the Sweeds. However it happened that the few Dutch that seated by Virginia and New Sweeden, they raised in opposition against the Sweeds, seeking to get their forts again as they formerly had, which difference was, in the year 1654, reconciled by the governor, John Rysing, with the Dutch commander, Peter Styvesant; but for all that the Dutch broke their faith and promises, and in the following year, the 30th of August, from the north river, Manhattan or New Amsterdam, so called, with seven ships and vessels, they being about 600 or 700 men aboard, these vessels under the command of the aforesaid Styvesant, and without any just cause or provocation given by the Sweeds, in the south river or New Sweedland, they unjustly attacked. They took first their quarters the first night at Elsburgh, where they took some freemen prisoners, the next day they sailed, then sailed by the Holy Trinity fort, and landed up at the point,* and there they made an entrenchment, and presently went to the fort and demanded up the fort, with abundance of threatenings what he would do; and Swen Scute, after some treaty with the enemy, the Dutch, with

* Now Gloucester Point. J. M.

and in a fraudulent way got the fort, and contrary to what was promised, caused the officers in the fort to be put in arrest, and carried all the soldiers aboard of the vessel, securing all places with soldiers, they taking down the Sweed's flagg and put up their own. Since Styvesant for such a small price had gotten the fort, which was a key for New Sweeden, and was well provided with men and ammunition, then the 2d of September they besieged Christiana, together with the town, Christiana harbour, as the ingenier laid out; and then they went and destroyed New Gottenburgh, together with the housing that were without the fort, with their plantations, plundering the inhabitants of what they could come at, killed their cattle. Therefore the Sweeds after 14 days siege, proposing several ways that he should not treat them after a hostile manner, but all would not do, and they were obliged to surrender the fort for want of powder and ammunition. But with this accord, that all the great guns that belonged to the crown and the company they should again be restored, and there was an inventory taken of them. Then the Sweeds marched out of the fort, with their arms, flying colours, drums and pipes, and burning matches, and the Dutch they then took possession of the fort, tore down the Sweedish flagg, and put up the Dutch colours. The officers and the principal people were taken in arrest, and carried to Manhaten or New Amsterdam, and from thence to Holland, but the common people submitted themselves under the Dutch and remained in the country. Which governor John Rysing and Peter Lindstrom gives a further and exacter relation of.

END OF VOLUME II.

CATALOGUE.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

BOOKS, TRACTS, NEWSPAPERS, MAPS, CHARTS
VIEWS, PORTRAITS, AND MANUSCRIPTS,

IN THE

LIBRARY

OF THE

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

NEW-YORK:

FROM THE PRESS OF J. SEYMOUR.

22 Dec. 1813.

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 6 DEC. 1813.

RESOLVED, *That the thanks of this Society be presented to the Reverend* TIMOTHY ALDEN, *for his indefatigable labour and attention in arranging and preparing the Catalogue of the Library of this Society, and in superintending the publication of the same.*

Extract from the Minutes,

JOHN PINTARD,

Recording Secretary.

PREFACE.

On the tenth day of December, 1804, a number of gentlemen, belonging to the city of New-York, formed themselves into a Society for the purpose of collecting and preserving whatever documents might relate to the natural, civil, literary, medical, or ecclesiastical history of the United States, and particularly of the state of New-York. In pursuance of their object, an act was obtained from the Honourable the Legislature of this state, on the tenth of February, 1809, constituting them a body corporate by the title of The New-York Historical Society.

They were encouraged to this undertaking by the laudable example and successful efforts of Belknap, Eliot, Minot, Sullivan, Thacher, and the other distinguished founders of a sister institution in Massachusetts.

The Catalogue now offered to the public, executed with a minuteness which, it is hoped, will be gratifying to the historian and antiquary, exhibits evidence of the industry with which many rare and valuable books, tracts, newspapers, maps, charts, manuscripts, and other articles, have been procured.

Works in any language, in any department of literature and science, also natural and artificial curiosities for our cabinet, are received with gratitude and preserved with care; yet the primary object of the society is to avail itself of a copy of all American and foreign publications and manuscript productions, which throw light on the history of our country.

One volume of our Historical Collections has been issued from the press, and the second may shortly be expected.

The literary treasures already amassed are, principally, the fruit of private munificence, as the records of the society will fully show. When our place of deposite is permanently fixed, and our arrangements made, which, we trust, will be in a style worthy of the commercial metropolis of this extensive Repub-

lic, the spirit of *ne extra hanc bibliothecam efferatur* will be cautiously observed as to every article; yet the archives of the institution will be, at all times, of easy access to any gentleman in search of historical information.

Of benefactors to this Society we have gratefully entered on our records a long and highly respectable list. It was our intention to have given their names to the public in this communication, but the delicacy of some would, perhaps, be wounded by such a measure. The magnitude and value of the donations by the gentlemen, whose names are subjoined, however, claim our most explicit acknowledgments; Hon. De Witt Clinton, John Pintard, John M'Kesson, Esq. Hon. Brockholst Livingston, David Hosack, M. D. William Johnson, Esq. Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D. Gulian C. Verplanck, Esq. Rev. Timothy Alden, William A. Duer, Esq. Hon. Samuel L. Mitchill, M. D. Rt. Rev. Benjamin Moore, D. D. Peter A. Jay, Esq. Hon. Egbert Benson, Anthony Bleecker, Esq. Francis B. Winthrop, Esq.; and among the Booksellers of our city, Messrs. T. and J. Swords, James Eastburn, Collins & Co. Peter A. Mesier, Samuel Campbell, Inskeep and Bradford; also among the publishers of Newspapers, Messrs. Coleman, Holt, and Lewis.

If the friends of this institution should continue their patriotic and kind attentions; if the zeal, which at present actuates its members, should not abate; and if the Honourable the Legislature of this State should liberally extend its fostering hand, as we ardently hope and expect, we shall not only be enabled to publish many volumes of original, important, and interesting historical details; but we shall, in due time, with the smiles of Divine Providence, erect upon the broad foundation, now happily laid, a superstructure, which will be honorary to the State of New-York, and useful to the world.

CATALOGUE

OF THE BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ABBOT, ABIEL, *Haverhill, Beverly,* Art. el. ser. 7 June, 1802. 8. Bos.

ABEEL, DAVID G. *S. of New-York.* Inau. dis. on Dysentery sub. to the exam. of the fac. of the phy. under the author. of the trus. of Colum. college, 6 May, 1794, ded. to Isaac Roosevelt, John Charlton, et al. 8. N. Y.

ABEEL, JOHN NELSON, *Philadelphia, New-York.* Ser. bef. N. Y. miss. soc. 6 Ap. 1801, with report of directors. 8. N. Y.

—— Dis. occ. by d. of. See Gunn.

ABERCROMBIE, JAMES, *Philadelphia,* ser. occ. by d. of Alex. Hamilton, del. 22 July, 1804, 8. P.

—— Charge del. 31 July 1805.

—— —— —— 31 July 1806.

—— —— —— 30 July, 1808. to the sen. class of the Phila. acad. 8. P.

—— Lectures on the catechism of the prot. epis. ch. etc. 8. P. 1807.

—— —— on the cat. confirma. etc. with a ded. to Wm. White, an advertise. pref. and add. to parents, sponsors, and guardians, 2d. ed. 8. P. 1811.

ABOLITION soc. of Penn. constitu. of the, with acts of Penn. for grad. abol. of slavery, 8. Phil. 1788.

—— —— of Maryl. Constitu. of the, 8. Balt. 1789.

—— of the slave trade, Short sketch of the evidence for the, 12. fr. Lon. ed. Phil. 1792.

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—— societies, minutes of 1st. conv. 1794, 8. Phil.

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—— ——, —— ——, 4th. conv. 1797, 8. Phil.

—— ——, —— ——, 7th. conv. 1801, 8. Phil.

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—— ——, —— ——, 11th. conv. 1806, 8. Phil.

ACADEMY of arts in the city of N. Y. Acc. of the statues, busts, etc. in the collec. of the, 12. N. Y. 1803.

—— of arts and sciences. See American.

ADAIR, JAMES, Hist. Amer. Indians, 4. Lon. 1775.

ADAMS, SAMUEL, *New Eng.* Ser. fr. Is. 32. 13 to 18. 4. [tit. p. wanting.]

ADAMS, WILLIAM, *Dedham,* Mass. el. ser. May, 1685, 4.

ADAMS, JOSEPH, *Newbury,* Letter to Thomas Barnard of N. with Barnard's ans. 8. 1743.

ADAMS, JOSEPH, *Newington,* Ser. occ. by d. of John Fabyan, 8. Portsm. 1757.

—— Ser. fr. Ps. 119. 126. del 13 Mar. 1769, 4 Portsm.

ADAMS, AMOS, *Roxbury,* Thanks. ser. 25 Oct. 1759, occ. by the success of his Br. majesty's arms in the reduc. of Quebec, 8. Bos.

—— Ser. ord. John Wyeth in Gloucester, 5 Feb. 1766, c. by Tho. Barnard of Salem. f. by Samuel Chandler of G. 8. Bos.

—— Ser. ord. Caleb Prentice in reading, 25 Oct. 1769, 8. Bos.

ADAMS, ZABDIEL, *Lunenburg,* Mass. el ser. 29 May, 1782. 8 Bos.

—— Ser. ins. John Foster in Taunton, 16 May, 1792, c. by Sim. Howard of Boston, f. by John Lathrop of Boston, 8. Bos.

ADAMS, JOHN, *Quincy,* Twenty-six letters upon interesting sub. respect. the revolu. of America, writ. in Holland in 1780, 12. N. Y. 1789.

—— Essay on canon and feudal law, 8. Phil. 1783.

—— Defence of the constitutions of government of the U. S. A. 3 vols. 8. Lon. 1787.

[——] Discourses on Davila, a series of papers on polit. his. writ. in 1790 and first pub. in the Gazette of the U. S. by an Amer. cit. with a pref. 8. Bos. 1805.

—— Ans. to Paine's Rights of man, first

pub. in the Colum. Centinel at Boston, 12. Lon. rep. 1793.

ADAMS, J. (cont.) Brief consideration of the impor. services and disting. virtues and talents wh. recommend, for the presidency of the U. S. A. by Aurelius, 12. Bos. 1796.

—— Letter to Thomas Pinckney of S. Car. 27. Oct. 1800.

—— Nar. of the suppression by A. Burr of the hist. of the administration of, by J. Wood, with a biog. of Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, also stric. on the conduct of J. A. and on the character of Charles C. Pinckney, by a cit. of N. Y. 8. N. Y. 1802.

—— and SAMUEL ADAMS, *Boston*, Four letters bet. on the sub. of government. 8. Bos. 1802.

ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY, *Boston*, Add. del. bef. Mass. char. fire soc. 28 May, 1802 [in wh. is a handsome tribute of respect to the mem. of Geo. R. Minot.] 8. Bos.

—— Ora. del. in Plymouth, 22 Dec. [anniv. of the landing of the pilgrims of Leyden] 1802, 8. Bos.

—— Letter to Harrison G. Otis, in reply to Timothy Pickering, 8. N. Y. 1808.

—— Remarks and criticisms on the foregoing letter of— 8. Bos 1808.

[——] Review of the works of Fisher Ames, 8 Bos. 1809

ADAMS, HANNAH, *Medfield*, Summary hist. of New Eng. fr. settlement at Plymouth to the adoption of the fed. constitu. comprehending a gen. sketch of the rev. war, 8. Dedham, 1799.

ADDRESS of a minister to his ch. in wh. it is inquired whether a ch. be obliged or authorised to require a pub. and formal confession of some partic. misdemeanors, prior to a christian profession, etc. 8. Bos. 1784.

—— to christians on presidential election, 1800.

—— to the indepen. electors of the state of N. Y. 20 Mar. 12. Alb. 1813.

ADET, *France, U. S. A.* Notes addressées par le cit. au secretaire des Etats Unis, with a transla. 8. Phil. 1796.

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—— Ser. ord. Thomas Cary in Newburyport, 11 May, 1768, c. by Paine Wingate of Amesbury, f. by Thomas Prentice of Charlestown, 8. Bos.

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APPENDIX.

ART. I.

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vol. 2. fr. 1 Jan. 1776 to 31 Dec. 1776.
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vol. 5. fr. 1 Jan. 1779 to 1 Jan. 1780.
vol. 6. fr. 1 Jan. 1780 to 1 Jan. 1781.
vol. 7. fr. 1 Jan. 1781 to 2 Nov. 1782.
vol. 8. fr. 1 Nov. 1782 to 1 Nov. 1783.
vol. 9. fr. 3 Nov. 1783 to 3 June 1784.
vol. 10. fr. 1 Nov. 1784 to 4 Nov. 1785.
vol. 11. fr. 4 Nov. 1785 to 3 Nov. 1786.
vol. 12. fr. 6 Nov. 1786 to 5 Nov. 1787.
vol. 13. fr. 5 Nov. 1787 to 3 Nov. 1788. from Folwell's press, 8. Phil. 1800 and 1801, also the first edition, 13 vols. 8. Phil. Yorktown, N. Y. 1777 to 1789.

CIRCULAR letter fr. the cong. U. S. to their constituents, wh. the legisla. of Massa. requested the ministers of the gospel to read to their respective congregations, 8. Bos. rep. 1779.

CONGRESSIONAL register, or hist. of the proceed. and debates of the first h. of representatives of the U. S. A. cont. an impor. acc. of the most interesting speeches and motions and accurate copies of remarkable papers laid bef. or offered to the house, taken in short hand by Thomas Lloyd, 3 vols. 8. N. Y. 1789, 1790.

JOURNAL of the senate of the U. S. viz. of the
First cong. first sess. at N. Y. fr. 4 Mar. 1789, fol. N. Y.
second sess. at N. Y. fr. 4 Jan. 1790, fol. N. Y.
third sess. at Phil. fr. 6 Dec. 1790, fol. Phil.
Sec. cong. first sess. at Phil. fr. 24 Oct. 1791, fol. Phil.
second sess. at Phil. fr. 5 Nov. 1792, fol. Phil.
Third cong. first sess. at Phil. fr. 2 Dec. 1793. fol. Phil.
second sess. at Phil. fr. 3 Nov. 1794 fol. Phil.
[the foregoing bound in 5 vols.]
Fourth cong. second sess. at Phil. fr. 5 Dec. 1796. 8. Phil.
Fifth cong. first sess. at Phil. fr. 15 May, 1797. 8. Phil.
third sess. at Phil. fr. 3 Dec. 1798. 8. Phil.
Sixth cong. first sess. at Phil. fr. 2 Dec. 1799. 8. Phil.
Seventh cong. first sess. at Washington fr. 7 Dec. 1801. 8. W.
Eighth cong. first sess. at Washington, fr. 17 Oct. 1803. 8. W.
second sess. at Washington, fr. 5 Nov. 1804. 8. W.
In cases of impeachment, viz. in the case of Wm. Blount, fr. 17 Dec. 1798;
John Pickering fr. 3 March, 1803;
Samuel Chase fr. 30 Nov. 1804.
Ninth cong. first sess. at Washington, fr 2 Dec. 1805. 8. W.
second sess. at Washington fr. 1 Dec. 1806. 8. W.
Tenth cong. first sess. at Washington fr. 26 Oct. 1807. 8. W.
Eleventh cong. third sess. at Washington fr. 3 Dec. 1810. 8. W.
Twelfth cong. first sess. at Washington fr. 4 Nov. 1811. 8. W.

JOURNAL of the h. of rep. of the U. S viz. of the
First cong. first sess. at N. Y. fr. 4 March 1789. fol. N. Y.
third sess. at Phil. fr. 6 Dec. 1790. fol. Phil.
Third cong. first sess. at Phil. fr. 2 Dec. 1793. fol. Phil. also 8. Phil.
second sess. at Phil. fr. 3 Nov. 1794 fol. Phil. also 8. Phil.
Fourth cong. first sess. at Phil. fr. 7 Dec. 1794. 8. Phil.
second sess. at Phil. fr. 5 Dec. 1796. 8. Phil.
Fifth cong. first sess. at Phil. fr. 15 May, 1797. 8. Phil.
second sess. at Phil. fr. 13 Nov 1797. 8. Phil.

third sess. at Phil. fr. 3 Dec. 1798, 8. Phil.

Sixth cong. first sess. at Phil. fr. 7 Dec. 1798. 8. Phil.

second sess. at Washington fr. 17 Nov. 1800. W.

Eighth cong. first sess. at Washington fr. 17 Oct. 1803. 8. W.

second sess. at Washington fr. 5 Nov. 1804. 8. W.

Ninth cong. first sess. at Washington fr. 2 Dec. 1805. 8. W.

second sess. at Washington fr. 1 Dec. 1806. 8. W.

Tenth cong. first sess. at Washington fr. 26 Oct. 1807. 8. W.

Eleventh cong. third sess. at Washington fr. 3 Dec. 1810. 8. W.

Twelfth cong. first sess. at Washington fr. 4 Nov. 1811, with a supplemental journal, 2 vols. 8. W.

Debates on the bill for repealing the law for the more convenient organization of the courts of the U. S. during the first sess. of the seventh congress, with a list of yeas and nays on that interesting subject. 8. Albany, 1802.

CONGRESSIONAL documents in chronological order, 8vo. viz.

REP. of sec. state rel. to weights, measures, and coins, 1790, N. Y.

PAPERS rel. to Gr. Brit. 1791 to 1793.

CASE decided in the sup. court of the U. S. in Feb. 1793, rel. to the ques. Whether a state be liable to be sued by a private citizen of another state, 1793.

MESSAGE of the pres. rel. to Fr. and Gr. Brit. 5 Dec. 1793.

REP. of sec. state rel. to the privil. and restric. commerce of the U. S. in foreign countries, Dec. 1793.

MESSAGE of the pres. enclosing letters fr. the min. plenipo. at Lon. and the min. plenipo. in Fr. to the sec. state with the ans. of the sec. 1794.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. docum. rel. to hostile threats ag. the territories of Spain in the neighbourhood of the U. S. 20 May, 1794.

REP. of sec. state of laws, decrees, and ordin. resp. commerce, 1794.

MESS. of the pres. enclosing a copy of a letter fr. the min. plenipo. of the Fr. repub. of 25 Dec. 1793 and a copy of the proceed. of the legis. of S. Car. 15 Jan. 1794.

MESS. of the pres. trans. a rep. of the sec. state rel. to complaints of spoliations on the com. of the U. S. 1794.

PINCKNEY'S memorial, Hammond's ans. and the letter of the sec. of state of 1 May to Hammond, 12 May, 1794.

REP. of the com. appointed to examine into the state of the treasury department, 22 May, 1794.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. a letter fr. the sec. state to the min. plenipo. of his Br. maj. with an ans. to a letter fr. the min. dated 22 May, 1794.

LETTER fr. Joseph Fauchet rel. to the French weights and measures, 1794.

LETTERS bet. Edm. Randolph and Geo. Hammond, 1794.

REP. of the commissioners of the sinking fund, 29 May, 1794.

REP. of the com. to wh. was referred the bill entitled An act provid. for the payment of a certain sum of money due to the Fr. repub. 6 June, 1794.

REP. of the commissioners, appointed to confer with the insurgents in the west. counties of Penn. 4 Sept. 1794.

BILL to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia of the U. S. 18 Feb. 1795.

RANDOLPH'S statement of facts, 1795.

REP. of the com. of ways and means on the state of the receipts and expend. of the U. S. 17 March, 1796.

MESS. fr. the pres. accomp. sundry papers rel. to the affairs of the U. S. with the Fr. repub. 18 Jan. 1799.

MESS. fr. the pres. accomp. a rep. of the sec. of state, etc. 21 Jan. 1799.

—— Accounts of the treasurer of the U. S. of pay and receipts of public monies fr. 1 Oct. 1800, to 30 June 1801, etc.

REP. of the com. rel. to the expend. of money made by the commissioners of the city of Washington, 27 Feb. 1801.

LETTER fr. the sec. navy to Sam. L. Mitchell, rel. to naval preparations 31 Dec. 1801, with docu. rel. thereto, 30 June, 1802.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. a roll of the persons having office or employment under the U. S. 16 Feb. 1802.

DOC. accomp. the commmun. of the pres. 15 Dec. 1802.

LETTER fr. the sec. treasury accomp. his rep. 20 Dec. 1802.

MESS. of the pres. accomp. a state. of expend. fr. 1 Jan. 1797, by the quartermaster gen. and the navy agents, etc. 23 Dec. 1802, fol.

LETTER fr. the treasurer of the U. S. accomp. the general acc. of his office, of the rec. and expenditures of pub. monies fr. 1 Oct. 1801 to 30 Sept. 1802, 27 Dec. 1802.

REP. of the com. of ways and means rel. to 7,300,000 dolls. having been applied to the principal and int. of the pub. debt, also rel. to the acc. and proceedings of the commissioners of the sinking fund, 3 March, 1803.

LETTER fr. the treasurer of the U. S. accomp. his general acc. of receipts and expend. of pub. monies fr. 1 Oct. 1801 to 30 Sept. 1802 also, acc. of rec. and expend. for the war and navy departments. 27 Dec. 1802.

LETTER fr. the treasurer of the U. S. accomp. his general acc. of rec. and expendi. also his acc. for the war and navy depart. fr. 1 Oct. 1803. to 30 Sept. 1804. 22 Jan. 1805.

PRESIDENT'S mess. 8. Nov. 1804.

REP. fr. the com. of com. and manufactures to whom was referred the petition of the pres. and directors of the N. Y. and Duchess county slate companies—15 Nov. 1804.

LETTER fr. the secretary of the treas. trans. a rep. and estimates for the year 1805, also a state. of rec. and expendi. fr. 1 Oct. 1803 to 1 Oct. 1804, 19 Nov. 1804.

REP. of the com. to whom was referred the rep. of the select com. appointed 13 March, 30 Nov. 1804.

MESS. fr. the pres. cont. a rep. of the surveyor of the pub. builings at the city of Wash. 6 Dec. 1804.

MEMORIAL presented by the inhabi. of Louisiana to the Congress of the U. S. trans. fr. the French, 1804.

REP. of the com. appointed 12 Nov. 1804, rel. to the form of gov. for Louisiana, 25 Jan. 1805.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. a letter fr. commo. Preble giving an acc. of the trans. of the vessels under his command fr. 9 July to 10 Sept. last, 20 Feb. 1805.

LETTER fr. the sec. of the treas. with a rep. and estimates for 1806, also a state. of the rec. and expendi. fr. 1 Oct. 1804, to 1 Oct. 1805, 13 Dec. 1805.

MESS. fr. the pres. of the U. S. resp. the applica. of Hamet Caramalli, exbashaw of Tripoli, 13 Jan. 1806.

MEMORIAL of the merch. and traders of the city of Phil. presented by Logan in the senate, 15 Jan. 1806.

MESS. fr. the pres. of the U. S. trans. a memorial of the merchants of Baltimore on the violation of our neutral rights, 29 Jan. 1806.

NICHOLSON'S motion, 10 Feb. 1806.

Doc. accomp. a mess. of the pres. rel. to Gr. Brit. 10 Feb. 1806.

MEMORIAL signed by H. Daggett of New-Haven presented to the senate by Hillhouse, 17 Feb. 1806.

LETTER fr. the post master general, 13 Feb. 1806.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. copies of treaties bet. the U. S. and sundry tribes of Indians, 19 Feb. 1806.

MESS. fr. the pres. commun. discoveries made in exploring the Missouri, Red-river and Washita by Lewis, Clark, Sibly. and Dunbar, with a statis. acc. of the countries adjacent, 19 Feb. 1806.

REPORT of the com. rel. to the applica. of Hamet Caramalli, 17 Mar. 1806.

REP. of the com. rel. to the territory of Michigan 18 March, 1806.

LETTER fr. the post master gen. rel. to trans. the mail fr. Athens in Georgia to N. Orleans, 21 March, 1806.

REP. of the sec. of state on the privileges and restrictions on the commerce of the U. S. in foreign countries, 16 Dec 1793, reprinted 1806.

LETTER fr. the treasurer of the U. S. accomp. gen. acc. of rec. and expenditures, also his acc. for the war and navy depart. fr. 1 Oct. 1805 to 30 Sept. 1806.

MESS. fr. the pres. cont. his commun. to both houses of cong. at the com. of the first sess. 10th cong. 27 Oct. 1807.

MESS. fr. the pres. with his proclama. interdicting the harbours and waters of the U. S. to Brit armed vessels, 19 Nov. 1807.

FURTHER rep. of the com. rel. to the defence of our seaport towns and harbours, 3 Dec. 1807.

LETTER fr. the sec. treas. accomp. a rep. and estimates for 1808, also a state. of the rec. and expen. fr. 1 Oct. 1806 to 1 Ort. 1807, etc. 4 Dec. 1807.

MESS. fr. the pres. of the U. S. commun. letters fr. gov Hull resp. the Indians in the vicinity of Detroit, 30 Dec. 1807.

LETTER fr. the treasurer of the U. S. accomp. his gen. acc. of rec. and expendi. also his acc. for the war and navy depart. fr. 1 Oct. 1806, to 30 Sept. 1807, 18 Jan. 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. an official commu. of certain orders of the Brit. gov. ag. the maritime rights of neutrals, dated 11 Nov. 1807, 3 Feb. 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. of the U. S. commun. further informa. in pursuance of two resolu. of the house of the 13 of Jan. 4 Feb. 1808.

BILL in addition to the supple. embargo act, 11 Feb. 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. communi. an add. rep. of the proceed. of the commissioners, rel. to a road fr. Cumberland to the state of Ohio, 19 Feb. 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. the rep. of the sec. of state rel. to impressments, 2 March, 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. rel. to sundry parcels of ground in and adjacent to the city of N. Orleans, 7 March, 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. a rep. rel. to the Military academy at West Point, 18 March 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. a letter fr. the sec. of state to Monroe rel. to the attack on the Chesapeake, also Monroe's correspon. with the Brit. gov. and Madison's correspon. with Rose on the same subject, 22 March, 1808.

LETTERS fr. the sec. of state to Monroe and Pinckney on subjects committed to their joint negociation with commun. to the sec. of state, accomp. a mess. fr. the pres. 23 March, 1808.

REP. of the sec. of the treas. rel. to pub. roads and canals, 12 Ap. 1808.

REP. of the com. to whom was referred the correspon. bet. Monroe, and Canning and bet. Madison and Rose rel. to the attack on the Chesapeake, also a commun. fr. the pres. of 30 March with a letter fr. Erskine to the sec. of state and a letter fr. Champagny to Armstrong, 16 Ap. 1808.

LETTER fr. the sec. of the treas. rel. to the mint, 25 Ap. 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. of the U. S. at the opening of the 2d. sess. of the 10th. cong. 8 Nov. 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. at the commencement of the 2d. sess. of the 10th cong. 8 Nov. 1808.

DOCUMENTS accomp. the mess. of the pres. 8 Nov. 1808.

REP. in part of the com. rel. to our foreign relations, 22 Nov. 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. copies of acts, decrees, orders, and proclamations affecting the commer. rights of neutral nations issued since 1791, 23 Dec. 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. copies of all orders, and decrees of the belligerent powers of Europe affecting the commer. rights of the U. S. passed since 1791, 28 Dec. 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. a list of vessels permitted to depart fr. the U. S. since 22 Dec. 1807, 28 Dec. 1808.

MESS. fr. the pres. commun. certain letters wh. passed bet. the Brit. sec. of state, Canning, and Pinckney, 17 Jan. 1809.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. informa. rel. to the appropriating of 2,000,000 dolls. 24 Jan. 1809.

MEMORIAL and petition of the pres. and directors of the Chesapeake and Delaware canal company, 24 Jan. 1809.

ANNUAL rep. of the library com. fr. 1808, 27 Jan. 1809.

MESS. of the pres. trans. a letter fr. Pinckney covering one to him fr. the Brit. sec. of state with his reply, 30 Jan. 1809.

REP. of the com. rel. to the relief of Wm. White and others, 30 Jan. 1809.

MESS. fr. the pres. at the com. of the first sess. of the 11th. cong. 23 May, 1809.

DOCUMENTS accomp. the mess. etc. 23 May, 1809.

LETTER fr. the sec. of the navy giving a gen. view of the state and disposition of the vessels belonging to the navy of the U. S. and of the gun boats, 25 May, 1809.

DOCUMENTS accompan. the bill providing for the sale of the gun boats reported by Anderson, 8 June, 1809.

MESS. fr. the pres. of the U. S. trans. the resolu. of Penn. rel. to Gideon Olmstead, 11 June, 1809.

REP. of the atty. gen. on the petitions of Edward Livingston and of the inhabi. of Orleans, 12 June, 1809.

MESS. fr. the pres. at the opening of the 2d. sess. of the 11th. cong. 29 Nov. 1809.

LETTER fr the sec. of the treas. trans. a rep. in part on the subject of Amer. manuf. 19 Ap. 1810.

MESS. fr. the pres. at the com. of the 3d sess. of the 11th cong. 5 Dec. 1810.

DEBATE in the h. of repre. on the bill for apportioning representatives accord. to the third enumera. of the people.

MESS. fr. the pres. at the com. of the 1st. sess. of the 12th. cong. 5 and 6 Nov. 1811.

OBSERVA. on the subject of the bill rel. to the establishment of the quartermaster's depart. 1811.

REP. in part of the com. rel. to the state and condition of the patent office, 12 June, 1812.

MESS. fr. the pres. of the U. S. at the

com. of the 2d. sess. of the 12th. cong. 4 Nov. 1812.

MESS. fr. the pres. trans. copies of a commun. fr. Russell to the sec. of state connected with the correspon. commun. by his. mess. of the 12 inst. rel. to the pacific advances made on the part of this gov. to that of G. Brit. 18 Nov. 1812.

REP. of the com. rel. to Wm. Lambert's memorial, 20 Jan. 1813.

MESS. fr. the pres. transmitting informa. touching the Fr. decree purporting to be a repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, 12 July, 1813.

SECRETARY OF STATE. viz.

REP. of the sec. of state rel. to lands not claimed by the Indians, nor granted to, nor claimed by any citizens, 10 Nov. 1791.

LETTER fr. the, with state. and abstracts rel. to Amer. seamen who have been impressed, etc. 23 Jan. 1805.

LETTER fr. the, with an abstract of all the evidences of title to lands claimed under any act or pretended act of the state of Georgia, passed or pretended to be passed in 1789 and 1795, 14 Feb. 1805.

LETTER fr. the, accompanying a state. of applications made to the Brit. gov. in cases of impressment, 8 March, 1806.

LETTER fr. the, trans. an abstract of the number of seamen registered in the several collection districts of the U. S. for 1806 and 1807, March, 1808.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, FOL. VIZ.

REP. of the sec. of the treas. rel. to a provision for the support of the public credit of the U. S. 14 Jan. 1790.

STATE of rec. and expendi. of pub. monies during the admin. of the finances by Rob. Morris, with extracts and acc. fr. pub. records, 19 March, 1790.

REP. of the sec. of the treas. rel. to the cod and whale fisheries, Feb. 1791.

REP. etc. rel. to manufac. 5 Dec. 1791.

ABSTRACT of goods, wares, and merchandise exported fr. the U. S. fr. 1 Oct. 1790 to 30 Sept. 1791.

ABSTRACT of goods, wares, and merch. exported fr. 1 Oct. 1791, to 30 Sept. 1792, also an abstract of duties arising fr. imports fr. 1 Oct. to 21 Dec. 1791, with an abstract of duties arising fr. tonnage of vessels entered into the U. S. fr. 1 Oct. to 31 Dec. 1791.

REP. of the sec. of the treas. rel. to the pub. debt, 7 Feb. 1792.

REP. etc. on the act for laying duties on spirits, etc. 6 March, 1792.

GEN. state of the revenue on distilled spirits, 8 May, 1792.

ACC. of payments and receipts of pub. monies fr. 1 Oct. to 31 Dec. 1792.

ACC. of rec. and expendi. of the U. S. for 1792.

SUNDRY statements rel. to several foreign loans of the U. S. 3 Jan. 1793.

SUNDRY statements of the sec. of the treas. 23 Jan. 1793.

COMMUNICA. fr. the sec. of the treas. to the h. of repre. of the U. S. 2 March, 1793.

TREASURER of the U. S. accounts of payments and receipts of pub. monies fr. 1 Jan. to 30 June, also the war depart. acc. fr. 1 Jan. to 31 Dec. 1793.

SUMMARY statement of the rec. and expenditures of the U. S. fr. the com. of the present gov. to the end of 1793.

ACC. of rec. and expendi. of the U. S. for 1793.

REP. of the sec. of the treas. rel. to the tonnage of vessels, 3 Jan. 1794.

REP. etc. in pursuance of an order of the h. of rep. of 30 Jan. 1794.

TREASURER of the U. S. acc. of payments and rec. of pub. monies fr. 1 July, 1793, to 31 March, 1794, also the war depart. acc. fr. 1 Jan. to 31 March, 1794.

REP. of the treasurer, 25 Ap. 1794.

ABSTRACT of exports fr. the U. S. for one year ending 30 Sept. 1793, etc. 2 June, 1794.

ACC. of the treasurer of the U. S. of payments and rec. of pub. monies fr. 1 Ap. to 30 June, 1794, also payment and receipts on acc. of the war depart. fr. 1 Ap. to 30 Sept. 1794.

SUNDRY estimates and statements rel. to appropriations for the service of 1794.

STATEMENT in relation to the foreign and domestic debt of the U. S. and the funds appropriated for the reduction of the dom. debt, proposed at the treasury, for the com. appointed to enquire into the state of the treasury department, 24 Feb. 1794.

SUNDRY estimates and statements rel. to appropriations for 1795 and to the expendi. of certain sums heretofore appropriated.

REP. of the sec. of the treasury read in the h. of rep. 19 Jan. 1795, cont. a plan for the further support of pub. credit.

REP. of the sec. etc. for the improvement of the revenues of the U. S. 2 Feb. 1795.

REP. of the state of the mint, 1795.

LETTER fr. the sec. etc. trans. two statements of the importa. in Amer. and foreign vessels fr. 1 Oct. 1802 to 30 Sept. 1803.

ACC. of the rec. and expendi. of the U. S. for 1802.

LETTER fr. the sec. of the treas. enclosing a rep. and sundry documents, 21 Nov. 1804.

LETTER fr. etc. to the chairman of the com. appointed to enquire rel. to claims ag. the U. S. barred by the statutes of limitation, with a rep. of the register of the treasury of the claims for services rendered and supplies furnished during the revolu. war, accomp. a bill making a further provision for extinguishing the debts of the U. S. 6 Dec. 1804.

LETTER fr. etc. trans. two statements of the importations in Am. and foreign vessels fr. 1 Oct. 1802, to 30 Oct. 1803, 13 Dec. 1804.

LETTER fr. etc. accompanied with a state. of the emolu. of the officers employed in the coll. of the customs for 1804, also a letter fr. the comptroller to the sec. of the treas. 26 Feb. 1805.

ACC. of rec. and expenditures of the U. S. for 1805.

LETTER fr. the sec. of the treas. with a rep. and estimates, 5 Dec. 1806.

LETTER fr. etc. trans. two state. of the importa. in Amer. and foreign vessels fr. 1 Oct. 1804, to 30 Sept. 1805, 24 Dec. 1806.

ACC. of rec. and expend. of the U. S. for 1806.

LETTER fr. the sec. of the treas. trans. a state. of the pub. debt on the first days of Jan. 1801, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, respectively, with explanatory state. and notes, 28 Feb. 1807.

LETTER fr. etc. accompanied with a state. of the emolu. of the officers employed in the coll. of the customs for 1806, also a letter fr. the comptroller to the treasurer, 28 Feb. 1807.

LETTER fr. the sec. of the treas. enclosing a rep. and estimates, 6 Nov. 1807.

ACC. of rec. and expendi. for 1807.

LETTER fr. the sec. of the treas. trans. two state. of the importa. in Amer. and foreign vessels fr. 1 Oct. 1805, to 30 Sept. 1806. 2 Feb. 1808.

LETTER fr. etc. trans. a state. of goods, wares, and merch. exported fr. the U. S. during one year prior to 1 Oct. 1807, 1 March, 1808.

LETTER fr. etc. trans. a state. of the emolu. of the officers employed in the coll. of the customs for 1807, with a letter fr. the comptroller to the sec. of the treas. 16 March, 1808.

LETTER fr. etc. trans. a state. of the pub. debt, on the 1 Jan. 1791, to 1 Jan. 1807, respectively, with explana. state. and notes, 14 Ap. 1808.

LETTER fr. etc. trans. his annual rep. and estimates, 16 Dec. 1808.

LETTER fr. etc. trans. the annual state. of the district tonnage of the U. S. 31 Dec. 1807 with an explana. letter of the register of the treas. 27 Dec. 1808.

LETTER fr. etc. trans. a state. of goods, wares, mer. exported fr. the U. S. nominally during one year prior to 1 Oct. 1808, but in fact during the three last months of the year 1807, subsequent exporta. having been prevented by the embargo, 27 Dec. 1808.

LETTER fr. etc. trans. a state. of sums annually received at the treasury since the estab. of the present gov. also a state. exhib. the annual amount of several branches of the customs and charges thereon, 7 Jan. 1809.

LETTER fr. etc. trans. his annual rep. 2 June, 1809.

LETTER fr. etc. trans. his annual rep. 12 Dec. 1810.

SINKING fund and pub. debt, viz.

REP. of the board of trustees of the sinking fund cont. their journals and a state. of their purchases since their last rep. to congress, 25 Feb. 1793.

REP. of the commissioners for purchasing the public debt stating the amount of purchases and other proceed. since their rep. 16 Dec. 1793, 18 Nov. 1794.

REP. of the commissioners of the sinking fund, with sundry state. of the proceed. wh. have been authorised by the board, since their rep. 4 Feb. 1804, 5 Feb. 1805.

REP. of, etc. with state. etc. since their rep. 5 Feb. 1806.

REP. of, etc. with state. etc. since their rep. 5 Feb. 1807. 6 Feb. 1808.

WAR DEPARTMENT, viz.

REP. of the sec. of War on 35 petitions, 1793.

STATE. of the difficulties and inconveniences in the execution of the act for estab. a uniform militia throughout the U. S. 10 Dec. 1794.

REP. of the sec. of war, on 60 petitions, 1794.

LETTER fr. the sec. of war, enclosing his rep. on the state of the fortifications of the ports and harbours of the U. S. with a state. of monies appropriated for fortifications, and unexpended, also an estimate of sums necessary for completing, etc. 8 Dec. 1807.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, VIZ.

LETTER fr. the sec. of the navy, accomp. a rep. of the commissioners of the fund for navy pensions, 12 Jan. 1807.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, VIZ.

LETTER fr. the postmaster-general enclosing a list of the persons with whom contracts have been made, for carrying the mail of the U. S. fr. 1 Dec. 1801 to 31 Dec. 1804, etc. 2 Jan. 1805.

ATTORNEY GENERAL, VIZ.

REP. of the attorney-general, rel. to the judiciary system of the U. S.

[Besides the foregoing, the soc. has on file a large collection of congressional acts, resolves, etc. not particularized in this catalogue.]

ART. II.

NEWSPAPERS.

AMERICAN DAILY ADVERTISER for 1793, Dunlap, then D. and Claypole, pr. 2 vols. Phil. [All newspapers in this catalogue are in the folio form, except those otherwise marked.]

AMERICAN MINERVA and EVENING ADVERTISER, fr. 1 Jan. 1796 to 30 June 1797, 2 vols. Geo. Bunce, pr. N. Y.

ARGUS and GREENLEAF'S NEW DAILY ADVERTISER, fr. 11 May to 30 Dec. 1795; from 1 June 1796 to 28 Feb. 1797, N. Y.

AURORA for the country, fr. 4 Jan. 1804 to 30 Dec. 1805, Wm. Duane, pr. Phil.

AURORA fr. 1 Nov. 1809 to 29 Dec. 1810. Phil.

BALANCE and COLUMBIAN REPOSITORY for 1803, Sampson, Chittenden, Croswell, pr. and ed. 4. Hudson, also vols. 4, 5, 6, [imp.]

BALTIMORE FEDERALIST for 1810.

BEE, fr. the commence. 14 June, 1797 to 21 May, 1800, Charles Holt, pr. N. Lon.

BOSTON NEWSLETTER fr. its establishment, 17 Ap. 1704 to 19 Ap. 1708, B. Green, pr. [It is hardly probable that another copy of the first newspaper printed in America so complete as this, which includes the 209 first numbers, is any where else in existence.]

BOSTON CHRONICLE for 1768, with many supplements and extraordinary papers, vol. 1st. 4. Mein and Fleming, pr. also 2d. and 3d. vols. to 21 June, 1770.

BOSTON PATRIOT for 1810.

BRITISH PRESS fr. 1 Sept. 1804 to 31 Dec. 1807, fr. 1809 to June 1812, Lon.

CATSKILL PACKET fr. 6 Aug. 1792 to 29 July, 1793.

CENTINEL OF FREEDOM fr. 2 Jan. 1809 to 31 Dec. 1811, Wm. Tuttle pr. [Most of the numbers of the Scourge are bound with this.] Newark.

CHRONICLE EXPRESS fr. Nov. 1802 to 2 Jan. 1804, Wm. A. Davis, pr. N. Y.

CITIZEN for 1806, 7, 8, 9, 10, N. Y.

CLAYPOOLE'S DAILY ADVERTISER fr. Jan. to June, 1791, for 1792, fr. Jan. to July, 1794. Phil.

COLUMBIAN GAZETTE fr. 26 Aug. 1793 to 13 Nov. 1794, John Buell pr. N. Y.

COLUMBIAN fr. Nov. 1809 to 1812, inclus. N. Y.

COLUMBIAN CENTINEL for 1810, B. Russel pr. and ed. Bos.

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER fr. its estab. 2 Oct. 1797 to 28 June, 1799, G. F. Hopkins pr. also for 1807, 9, 10, 11, N. Y.

CORRECTOR by Toby Tickler, esq. fr. 28 March to 26 Ap. 1804. N. Y.

DAILY ADVERTISER polit. histor. and commercial, fr. Jan. 1786 to Dec. 1805 bound in 30 vols. Francis Childs et al. pr. [wanting to complete the

series of vol. 1st. fr. num. 1 to 263 inclus. in 1795 fr. July to Dec. inclus. for 1796, 1797, fr. 1 Jan. to May and fr. 1 Oct. to Dec. in 1798, fr. 1 Jan. to 2 May in 1799, fr. 1 Jan. to 9 May in 1801, and fr. 1 Jan. to 31 Aug. 1806.]

DAILY GAZETTE, for 1812, N. Y.

DARTMOUTH GAZETTE fr. 1801 to 1804 inclus. [imp.] M. Davis pr. Hanover, N. H.

DIARY or LOUDON'S REGISTER fr. 15 Feb. to 14 Aug. 1792, fr. 15 Aug. 1792 to 14 Aug. 1793, N. Y.

EVENING POST for 1807 fr. 15 Ap. to 30 Dec. in 1809, for 1810, 1811, 1812, N. Y.

GAINE'S N. YORK GAZETTE for 1771, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777. N. Y.

GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES fr. its estab. 15 Ap. 1789 to 27 Ap. 1791, John Fenno pr. Phil.

GAZETTE and DAILY ADVERTISER for 1809, 1810, [imp.] N. Y.

HERALD for the country, fr. 4 June, 1796 to 3 June, 1797, Hopkins, Webb and co. pr. for 1803, 1809, N. Y.

INDEPENDENT REFLECTOR, or weekly essays on sundry important subjects, more particularly adapted to the prov. of N. Y. printed at N. Y. till tyrannically suppressed in 1753.

INDEPENDENT GAZETTE or N. Y. JOURNAL REVIVED, fr. 11 March, 1784.

INDEPENDENT JOURNAL, OR THE GEN. ADVERTISER for 1787, J. M'Lean pr. N. Y.

INDEPENDENT AMERICAN fr. Nov. 1809 to Dec. 1810, Georgetown.

JERSEY CHRONICLE fr. its estab. 2 May, 1795, to 30 Ap. 1796, Philip Freneau pr. 4. Mount Pleasant.

LONG ISLAND STAR for 1809, 1811, [imp.] Brooklyn.

L'ORACLE DU JOUR AND DAILY ADVERTISER fr. its estab. 1 Jan. to 30 June, 1808, J. J. Negrin publisher, N. Y.

MERCANTILE ADVERTISER fr. Nov. 1809 to 1812, N. Y.

MINERVA AND MERCANTILE EVENING ADVERTISER fr. 1 July to 30 Sept. 1797, Hopkins and co. pr. N. Y.

MISCELLANEOUS newspapers fr. 1784 to Ap. 1787.

MORNING CHRONICLE fr. 7 July to 31 Dec. 1803, R. Wilson proprietor, N. Y.

MORNING POST for 1811, N. Y.

MOTT AND HURTIN'S NEW-YORK WEEKLY CHRONICLE fr. 1 Jan. 1793 to 1 Oct. 1795.

NEW ENGLAND PALLADIUM fr. 2 Jan. 1801 to Ap. 1803, Boston.

NEW HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE fr. 25 Sept. 1772 to 30 Dec. 1774, fr. 1 June, 1776 to 6 May, 1780, [called the Freeman's Journal in 1776, but is the same paper, wh. was estab. by Fowle, in Ports. 1756.]

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND VERMONT JOURNAL, OR THE FARMER'S WEEKLY MUSEUM fr. 15 Nov. 1796 to 24 March 1800, D. Carlisle pr. Walpole.

NEW-YORK GAZETTE fr. Ap. 1730 to 1736, [imp.]

NEW-YORK WEEKLY JOURNAL fr. 11 March, 1733 to Aug. 1739.

NEW-YORK WEEKLY POST BOY, for 1743 [imper.] 1744, for 1745 and 1746 [imp.]

NEW-YORK GAZETTE revived in the Weekly Post Boy for 1747, fr. 1748 to 1750 inclus. [imp.] for 1751, 2, 3, 4, 5.

NEW-YORK MERCURY fr. 4 June 1753 to 1760, for 1762, 1764, 1767, 1768, H. Gaine pr.

NEW-YORK GAZETTE AND WEEKLY MERCURY fr. Ap. 1768 to Dec. 1769.

NEW-YORK GAZETTE OR WEEKLY POST BOY fr. 3 Jan. 1765 to 31 Dec. 1772, John Holt pr.

NEW-YORK JOURNAL, etc. fr. Sept 1777 to 13 Dec. 1779.

NEW-YORK PACKET fr. 1 Jan. 1784 to 1792, Loudon pr.

NEW-YORK JOURNAL AND WEEKLY REGISTER for 1787, [imp.] Greenleaf, pr.

NEW-YORK JOURNAL AND PATRIOTIC REGISTER fr. 4 May 1790 to 8 March 1800, Greenleaf, pr.

NEW-YORK JOURNAL OR THE WEEKLY REGISTER, fr. 30 March 1786 to 11 Jan. 1787, E. Oswald pr.

NEW-YORK JOURNAL AND WEEKLY REGISTER fr. 28 July 1788 to 31 Dec. 1789, T. Greenleaf, pr.

NEW-YORK JOURNAL AND DAILY PATRIOTIC REGISTER fr. 7 Dec. 1787 to 23 July 1788.

NEW-YORK DAILY GAZETTE for 1789, 1790, J. and A. M'Lean, pr.

NEW-YORK EVENING POST fr. its estab. 17 Nov. 1794 to 25 May, 1795, Wayland and Davis pr.

NEW-YORK EVENING POST fr. its estab. 16 Nov. 1801 to 23 Dec. 1803, M. Burnham pr.

NEW-YORK HERALD fr. 20 Jan. 1802 to 30 Dec. 1807, M. Burnham, pr.

NEW-YORK GAZETTE AND DAILY ADVERTISER fr. 13 Ap. 1809 to 31 Dec. 1811.

NEW-YORK Miscellaneous news-papers bound in 7 vols.

NOVA SCOTIA GAZETTE AND GENERAL ADVERTISER, fr. 9 Feb. 1785 to 27 Ap. 1786.

JRAM'S NEW-YORK PRICE CURRENT fr. 1801 to 1804 inclus.

PEOPLE'S FRIEND AND DAILY ADVERTISER fr. 1 Sept. 1806 to 31 Dec. 1807, J. Frank, and then J. H. Prentiss, pr. N. Y.

PHILADELPHIA MERCANTILE ADVERTISER fr. Nov. 1809 to Dec. 1810.

POLITICAL STAR, 20 num. being the whole, 180 .

PORCUPINE'S GAZETTE AND U. STATES DAILY ADVERTISER fr. its estab. 4 March 1797 to 4 Oct. 1799. Wm. Cobbet pr. and editor, Phil.

PORT ROSEWAY GAZETTE AND GENERAL ADVERTISER fr. 4 Nov. 1784 to 18 Aug. 1785.

PORTSMOUTH ORACLE fr. 1800 to 1808 inclus. W. Treadwell pr.

PUBLIC ADVERTISER fr. 1807 to 1811 [imp.] N. Y.

QUEBEC GAZETTE, in French and English, fr. 1801 to 1805 [imp.] 4.

REPERTORY for 1810, Park editor, Bos.

REPUBLICAN OR ANTI DEMOCRAT, fr. its estab. 1 Jan. to 20 Dec. 1802, Prentiss and Cole, then Prentiss pr. Bal.

RIVINGTON'S NEW-YORK GAZETTEER, OR THE CON. N. JER. HUDSON'S RIVER AND QUEBEC WEEKLY ARVERTISER fr. its estab. in Ap. 1773 to 23 Nov. 1775, N. Y.

RURAL VISITER, a literary and miscellaneous gazette comprised in 52 num. D. Allinson and co. pr. 4. Burl. 1811.

RUSSELL'S GAZETTE, COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL for 1799, Bos.

SPECTATOR fr. its estab. 4 Oct. 1797 to 30 Sept. 1801, G. F. Hopkins, then E. Belden and co. pr.

STATESMAN for 1812, N. Y.

SCOURGE, Most of the numbers of the, Boston.

TIME PIECE AND LITERARY COMPANION fr. its estab. 13 March 1797 to 30 Aug. 1798, P. Freneau and A. Menut pr. N. Y.

TROY GAZETTE fr. 3 Sept. 1805 to 21 July 1807.

VILLAGE MESSENGER, First nos. of, Amherst, N. H. Castine Journal, First numbers of, with a coll. of miscellaneous newspapers bound together printed in N. H. and Mass.

WAR fr. 27 June 1812 to 15 June 1813, 4. N. Y.

WASP, Most of the numbers of the, 4. Hudson, 1802, 3.

WESTERN STAR AND HARP OF ERIN for 1812, G. Douglas ed. 4. N. Y.

WEYMAN'S N. YORK GAZETTE for 1759 and 1764 [imp.] and for 1763.

ART. III.

MAPS, CHARTS, ETC.

AA, PIERRE VAN DER, Atlas nouveau et curieux des plus celebres itineraires; ou recueil de nouvelles cartes geograph. des voiages modernes de long cours, etc. depuis l'an 1246 jusqu' à l'an 1696, divisé en deux tomes, nouvellement mis au jour à Leide, par. fol.

ADLUM, JOHN, AND JOHN WALLIS, Map exhibiting a general view of the roads and inland navigation of Pennsylvania, ded. to Tho. Mifflin.

ALDEN, TIMOTHY, *Portsmouth, etc.* Map of Yarmouth in the county of Barnstable, Massa. 1803.

ALEXANDER, WM. Large collection of copies of maps and plans [of different sections of the U. States, particularly in N. Jersey and N. Y. from the donation of the heirs of the late lord Sterling,] 1769 to 1774.

AMERICA, New and accurate map of the Eng. empire in North, representing their rightful claim as confirmed

by charters, etc. with the several French forts unjustly erected, by a soc. of anti-Gallicans. Lon. Dec. 1755.

ALBEMARLE sound and lake Erie, Map of the country bet. engraved for the Notes on Virginia.

ARROWSMITH, A. Map of N. America exhibiting a view of all the new discoveries in the interior parts. Rathbone Place, 1802.

—— Map of the world, globular projection, with a portrait of James Cook, engraved under the superintendance of Samuel Lewis, 1809.

ATLANTIC ocean, New map or chart in Mercator's projection of the western, or, with part of Eur. Af. and America.

ATLAS minor, sive geographia compendiosa in qua orbis terrarum paucis attamen novissimis tabulis ostenditur, Atlas nouveau contenant toutes les parties du monde, etc. recueillies des meilleurs auteurs, fol. à Amsterdam.

BANCKER, GERARD, Plan of Fort George in the city of New-York, made at the request of John Cruger, and the rest of the committee appointed to fix on a suitable place for building a government house, 12 Ap. 1774.

BARBADOES, Insula, in suas parochias distincta una cum oris marit. viis, etc.

BATTLE of Plassey, fought by Rob. Clive, 23 June, 1757, Plan of the.

BELLIN, N. Map of Royal Island, or Cape Breton, about 1745.

BEW, J. Chart of the Mediterranean sea with part of the Atlantic and Adriatic, etc. Lon. 1781.

—— Map of European settlem. on the coast of Africa fr. the river Sennegal to that of Benin, Lon. 1781.

—— Map of the roads of Toulon, with the adjacent country, Lon. 1781.

—— Map of the isl. of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, etc. Lon. 1781.

—— Map of Barbadoes, Lon. 1782.

—— Map of the straits of Gibraltar, Lon. 1781.

—— Map of the Cape De Verd islands, Lon. 1781.

—— Map of the Archipelago of the east, Lon. 1781.

—— Map of the Seven United Provinces, Lon. 1781.

—— Map and chart of the Cape of Good Hope, Lon. 1781.

—— Map of Bourbon and Mauritius, Lon. 1781.

—— Map of Minorca, Lon. 1781.

BEW, J. (cont.) Chart of the north sea, with the coasts of Brit. Hol. Ger. etc. Lon. 1781.

—— Map of the peninsula of India, Lon. 1781.

—— Map of St. Eustatia, Saba, St. Martins, St. Barts. etc. Lon. 1781.

—— Map of E. and W. Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, etc. Lon. 1781.

—— Map of Cape Fear river, with the counties adjacent, Lon. 1781.

—— Map of the Eng. Fr. Span. Dutch, and Danish W. Indies, taken fr. an improved map of the geographer of the king of France, Lon. 30 June, 1781

—— Map and chart of those parts of the bay of Chesapeake, York, and James rivers, at pres. the seat of war, Lon. 30 Nov. 1781.

—— Map of St. Lucia and Martinique, Lon. 1781.

—— Map of the Dutch settlements of Surrinam, Demarara, Issequibo, Berbices, and the isl. Curassoa, Aruba, etc. Lon. 1781.

—— Chart and plan of the harbour of N. York, and the country adjacent, Lon. 1781.

BLODGET, WM. Topograph. map of the state of Vermont, fr. actual survey, ded. to Thomas Chittenden, 1789.

—— New and correct map of Connecticut, ded. to Samuel Huntington, 1792.

BOSTON, Map of the seat of the late war at, in the Massa. bay.

BRIDGES, WILLIAM, *N. York*, Large and elegant map of the city of N. Y. and island of Manhattan, with explana. and references with a book cont. an acc. of this map, 1811.

BRIT. and Fr dominions in N. Amer. showing the Fr. encroachments through all the Brit. plantations fr. N. Scotia to the gulf of Mexico.

BURGES, BARTHOLOMEW, Plate of the solar system, ded. to the Amer. Acad. A. sciences in Massa. and the Phil. Soc. in Penn.

CANADA, Map of the present seat of war on the borders of, for Penn. mag.

CANO Y OLMEDILLA, JUAN DE LA CRUZ, Mapa geografico de America, Meridional despuesto y gravado por D. 1775, Londres publicando por Guillermo Faden, 1799.

CARLETON, OSGOOD, *Boston*, Map of the U. S. A. agreeably to the peace of 1783.

—— New map of the U. States, includ-

a part of Louisiana, revised and corrected by, 1806.

CAROLINE DU NORD, Partie de la province de la.

CHANLAIRE, P. G. Tableau general de la nouvelle division de la France en departemens, arrondissemens communaux et justices de, neatly coloured, à Paris, an 10.

COLLES, CHRISTOPHER, *New-York*, Survey of the roads of the U. S. A. 1789. engraved by C. Tiebout.

COLUMBIA territory, with the outlines of the city of Washington, Map of.

CONNECTICUT. See Hudson and Goodwin.

D'ANVILLE, North America fr. the French of, improved with the back settlements of Virg. and course of the Ohio, illust. with geogr. and histor. remarks, 1755.

DESQUINEMANE, ANDRE, Plan general de la Forest de Fontainebleau, contenant 30285 arpents 65 Perches y compris 2360 arpents, 13 Perches de bois taillis et bruyeres appellé le bois Ministre tant dedans que hors le bornage de la dite Forest, ded. à sa majesté, 1727.

DE WITT, SIMEON, Map of the state of N. York, also on a separate sheet, an alphabetical list of the towns in the state to accompany the map, 1802.

DHEULLAND, Nouveau zodiaque, qui contient les positions des etoiles fixes, etc. ded. au roi 1755.

EASTBURN, Philadelphie par, à Paris.

EDDY, JOHN H. Map of the western part of the state of N. Y. showing the route of a proposed canal fr. lake Erie to Hudson's river, with a profile of the levels on the route of the proposed canal, engraved by Peter Maverick, 1811.

—— Map of the straights of Niagara fr. Erie to Ontario, 1812.

—— Map of the country thirty miles round the city of N. York, ded. to De Witt Clinton, N. Y. 1812.

EUROPE, Map of, with its empires, kingdoms, etc. illus. with plans of the principal trading towns.

FIELD, STEPHEN, Draught of the windward coast of the mosquito shore, fr. Point Pattuck to St. Johns and contin. on the Span. main to Escuda Veragua, Lon.

FISHER, JOSHUA, Chart of Del. bay and river fr. the capes to Phil. taken fr. the original chart pub. at Phil. by, pub *at Lon.*

FISLON, JOHN, Map of Kentucke, ded. to cong. and G. Washington Phil. 1784.

FRANCE, Carte de, divisée en ses 83 departemens, et districts suivant les decrets de l'assemblée nationale 1791.

[GAERCK and MANGIN's] plan of the city of New York, engraved by P. Maverick, 1803.

GODHART DE BRULS, MICHAEL and son, Plan of Niagara with the adjacent country surrendered to the Eng. army under the command of sir Wm. Johnson, 25 July 1759, ded. to sir William. N. York.

GREECE, Map of modern.

HONDIUS J. Surhonius, J. Le Clere, V. A. Seccus, H. Picart et al. sculpserunt Atlas, 4. 1560 to 1621.

HUTCHINS, THOMAS, New map of the western parts of Virg. Penn. Mar. and N. Carolina compre. the river Ohio, part of the Missisippi, Illinois river, lake Erie, part of lake Huron, etc. Lon. 1778.

INDIAN draught of a map of the Cherokee nation, with the Indian names of places, engraved by T. Kitchen, for Lon. mag.

ISLE, GUILLAUME DE L', Carte du Canada, à Paris, 1783.

—— Carte du Mexique et des Etats Unis, revue et augmentée par Dezauche, 1783.

JACOBSZ, ANTHONY, [ancient] West Indische Paskaert waer in de graden der breedde over wederzyden vande middellyn wassende soo vengrooten dat die geproportioneert syn tegen hunne nevenstaende graden der lengde.

JEFFERYS, THOMAS, Amer. atlas, or a geog. descrip. of the whole continent of America, fr. the surveys of Holland, L. Evans, Wm. Scull, H. Mouzon, Ross, J. Cook, M. Lane, J. Gilbert, Gardner, Hillock, et al. engraved on 49 copper plates by, fol. Lon. 1778.

KENSETT, General and correct chart of the West Indies including the Florida gulf and stream, pub. at Newburyport by Edm. M. Blunt.

LAKE SUPERIOR and SLAVE LAKE in N. Am. A map showing the commun. of the lakes and rivers bet. for N. Y. mag.

LAY, AMOS, Map of the northern part of the state of N. Y. fr. actual survey, 1812.

LEARD, JOHN, Pilot for Jamaica and the windward islands surveyed fr.

1789 to 1792, by order of v. adm. Affleck, fol.

LONDON, Plan of, Westminster, and the borough of Southwark with all the additional streets, squares, etc. also the improved roads to the year 1801, fr. the best authors.

LYNE, JAMES, Plan of the city of N. York, fr. an actual survey by, pub. by Wm. Bradford, and ded. to John Montgomerie, gov. of the provinces of N. Y. and N. Jersey: Robert Lurting mayor of the city, about 1730.

MAERSCHALCK, F. Plan of the city of New-York fr. an actual survey 1755, pub. by G. Duyckinck and ded. to James De Lancey lt. gov. of the prov. of N. Y. Edw. Holland mayor of the city.

MAUREPAS, Le Comte De, New chart of the Mediterranean sea composed fr. the draughts of the pilots of Marseilles, corrected by astron. observa. by order of, etc. pub. at Lon.

MIDDLE states of N. America engraved by Maverick.

—— on a smaller scale, 1798.

MITCHELL, JOHN, Map of the British and French dominions in N. America, with the roads, distances, limits, and extent of the settlements, inscribed to the earl of Halifax, with a certificate fr. John Pownall, secretary of the Plantation office, 1755.

MOLL, HERMAN, Atlas minor, or a new and curious set of 62 maps, 4.

MORTIMER, C. Hydrographical chart of the Virgin islands, ded. to sir Ch. Wager.

NEWFOUNDLAND, Correct chart of the banks and harbours of, Lon.

NEW-YORK, Map of military lands and 20 townships in the western part of the state of.

NEW-YORK, Plan of three islands [Governour's, Bedloe's, and Oyster island] situated in the harbour of, fortified for the defence of the harbour, ms.

NORTHPOLE, Map of the countries about, for Carey's ed. of Guthrie's geog.

PARIS, Plan routier de la ville et Faubourg de, divisé en 12 municipalites, 1802.

PELHAM, HENRY, Plan of Boston with its environs and an exhib. of the military works constructed in 1775 and 1776, ded. to ld. George Germain, Lond. 1777.

PHELIPPEAUX, Carte generale des colonies Angloises dans l'Amerique Septen. pour servir de suite au theatre de la guerre de Brion De La Tour, 1785.

PHILADELPHIA, Chorograph. map of the country round, à Amsterdam chez Covens et al.

PICQUET, CH. Carte de l'empire Francais et du roy. d'Italie avec une partie des etats qui sont sous la protection de l'emp. Napoléon, ded. à sa majeste, 1808.

POCKET maps of

NEW ENGLAND fr. actual surveys, pub. by Tho Jefferys, 1774.

NEW-YORK and NEW JERSEY with a part of Penn. drawn by Holland and corrected by Pownall, Lond, 1776.

PENNSYLVANIA, fr. actual surveys, chiefly fr. Scull's map, pub. 1770, ded. to Tho. and Richard Penn, Lon 1775.

—— by Reading Howell 1792, ded. to Tho. Mifflin.

VIRGINIA and MARYLAND with a part of Penn. N. Jer. and N. Car. drawn by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson in 1775, pub. by Tho. Jefferys and ded. to George Dunk.

NORTH and S. CAROLINA fr. actual surveys, by Henry Mouzon et al. 1775.

POWNAL, T. Map of the middle Brit. colonies in N. Amer. with a topograph. des. 1776.

PRICE, WM. AND GEO. WATSON, New chart of the coast of Germany, fr. Norderney island to the Eyder, improved fr. observa. made by, Lon. 1786.

PTOLEMÆUS, Universalis tabula juxta, copied fr. the maps of Ptolemy, pub. at Franeker and Utrecht 1695, engraved for Anderson's hist. of commerce, Dublin, 1789.

PURCELL, JOSEPH, Map of Virg. N. and S. Car. Geor. and E. and W. Floridas, engrav. by Amos Doolittle for Morse's geog. 1788.

RATZER, B. Plan of the city of N. Y. and its environs, ded. to sir Henry Moore, surveyed in 1766 and 1767.

—— The same on a reduced scale.

—— Map of the city of N. Y. in French, about 1770.

[RAYNAL,] Atlas portatif pour servir à l'intelligence de l'histoire philos. et politique des etablissemens et du com-

meree des Europèens dans les deux Indes, coloured, 4. á Amsterdam, 1773.

ROCQUE, J. Map of the kingdom of Ireland, divided into provinces, counties, and baronies, Lon.

ROWLAND, DAVID S. *Providence, Windsor*, Epitome of ecclesiastical history, engraved and printed by Amos Doolittle of New-Haven, 1806.

SACKETT'S harbour, Plan of, ms. about 1809.

SCULL, W. Map of Pennsylvania, ded. to John Penn, 1770.

—— Map of the improved part of Pennsylvania, ded. to Thomas and Richard Penn.

SMYTH, DAVID WM. Map of U. Canada fr. Quebec to Huron, compiled at the request of John G. Simcoe, new ed. with additions and corrections fr. Holland's three sheet map, engraved by James D. Stout, and pub. by Prior and Dunning 1813, accompanied with a Gazetteer.

SOUTHACK, CYPRIAN, *Boston*, An actual survey of the sea-coast fr. N. Y. to the S. Cape Briton, with tables of the direct and thwart courses and distances fr. place to place by, illus. with partic. plans of the harbours of N. Y. Boston, Casco-bay, and Annapolis Royal on a larger scale, [perhaps about 1780.]

SPROULE, GEORGE, Sketch of the environs of Charleston, S. Car. 1 June, 1780.

STILES, EZRA, Characters on Dighton rock. Cette inscription se voit sur un roc à Dighton dans l'etat de Rhode Island, Le doc. E. S. en avait fait la copie en grand sur les lieux, c'est de cette copie que celleci a été reduite au 8e de la grandeur originale. ms. by T. Mouchet

THOMPSON, G. New map of Germany, divided into its circles, pub. at Lon. 1 Nov. 1796.

THOMPSON, G. (cont.) A new map of the world, with all the discov. of Cook and other navigators, etc. illus. with a celestial planisphere, the various systems of Ptolemy, Copernicus, and Brahe, with the appearances of the planets, pub. at Lon. by, 1 Jan. 1798.

THOMSON, G. (cont.) New map of America divided into its kingdoms, states, governments, and other subdivisions, published at Lon. by, 1 May, 1799.

—— New two-sheet map of Africa, pub. at Lon. by, 12 Aug. 1802.

—— New map of Asia, divided into its empires, kingdoms, etc. pub. at Lon. by, 20 Nov. 1799.

THOMSON, W. B. View of Princeton college, [original] 1807.

TOBAGO, New and correct chart of the isl. of.

TOUR, BRION DE LA, Carte des Etats Unis d'Amerique et du cours du Mississippi, à Paris, 1784.

VARLE, CHARLES, Map of the counties of Frederick, Berkeley, and Jefferson in Virginia, executed in 1809, engraved by Benj. Jones, with a pamphlet cont. a topograph. des. of those counties.

UNITED STATES geographical amusement, 1806, with directions for performing the geog. game.

WARREN, MOSES, AND GEORGE GILLET, Map of Connecticut, fr. actual survey made in 1811, engraved by Abner Reed, and pub. by Hudson and Goodwin, 1813.

WASHINGTON city, in the ter. of Columbia, Plan of, established as the seat of gov. after 1800, engraved by Sam. Hill of Boston.

WHITELAW, JAMES, Map of Vermont, 1807.

WINTERBOTHAM'S hist. of Amer. Atlas for, fol. pub. by John Reid, 1796.

ART. IV.

VIEWS.

BELVIDERE house, Anderson p. Scoles s.

BOSTON fr. Breed's hill.

BOTANIC garden at Elgin, Simond p. Leney s.

BUSH-HILL near Phil. Hoffman, p. Tiebout s.

CITY-HALL, Perspective view of the [late,] in N. Y. taken fr. Wall-street, Tiebout s.

COLLEGE of physicians in the city of N. Y. 1313.

CONSTITUTION and Guerriere.
CUSTOM-HOUSE in London.
FALLS of Schuylkill near Phil. Hoffman p. Tiebout s.
FEDERAL HALL in the city of N. Y. Lacour p. Doolittle s. 1790.
HELL-GATE, Barr p. Tiebout s.
HOSPITAL in the city of N. Y. Tiebout s.
HOUSE of employment, Almshouse, Penn. hospital, etc. in Phil. Garrison p. Hulett s.
MINISINK, at, in N. Jer. Hoffman p. Scoles s.
MOHAWK river, on the, Livingston p. Tiebout s.
MONUMENT at Sandy Hook, Anderson p. Tiebout s.
MYLNES, design of a new bridge fr. Black Friars.
NEW-YORK, The city of, taken bet. 1732 and 1738.
NOBLEBOROUGH, at, in N. Y. Tiebout s.
PAHAQUARRE, at, in N. J. Hoffman p. Scoles s.
POUGHKEEPSIE, Sawmill near, Tiebout s.
PRESBYTERIAN church in Newark, Anderson p. Tiebout s.
REDHOOK, on Long Isl. towards, 1783.
ROYAL hum. soc. receiving house, Hyde Park.
SHELBURNE light-house, Tiebout s.
STATE house in state-street, Boston hill p. s.
STEEP rocks, west side of Hudson river, Tiebout s.
THEATRE in Phil. inside of the new, Lewis p. Ralph s.
WEST-POINT, about 1783, Livingston p: Tiebout s.
WIGWAM, elevation of a, for the Tammany soc. in the city of N. Y. Ignatius Shnyder p.

ART. V.

PORTRAITS.

JOHN ADAMS, Copley p. Smither s.
EGBERT BENSON, J. W. Jarvis p.
JOHN CALVIN, Boyd s.
BENJAMIN CHURCH, P. R. s.
THOMAS COOPER, Wood p. Edwin s.
RICHARD CUMBERLAND, Edwin s.
HENRY DEARBORN, C. W. Peale p. Edwin s.
FERDINAND, hered. prince of Bruns. 1721.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Edwin s.
ED. CH. GENET, 1793.
JOHN JAY, gov. VAN RENSSELAER, lieut. gov. DIRCK TEN BROECK, speaker of the house of assembly, on one page, the senators and assemblymen of the state of N. York, nine on each page.
GREENE, Tisdale s.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON, several different engravings.
ARCHIBALD LAIDLIE, published by Jarvis.
BENJAMIN LINCOLN, Sargent p. Smith s. 1811.
JOHN H. LIVINGSTON, Stuart p. Jarvis s.
ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON, Stuart, p. Graham s.
THOMAS M'KEAN, Stuart p. Edwin s. 1803.
SAMUEL LATHAM MITCHILL, Weaver p. Scoles s.
RICHARD R. MORRIS, 1799.
JOHN MURRAY, Hill s.
NAPOLEON, Edwin s.
ISAAC NEWTON, Edwin s.
JOHN OGILVIE.
THOMAS PAINE, Romney p. Sharp s.
PHILIP of Mount Hope Revere s.
JOSEPH PILMORE, C. W. Peale p. s. 1787.
FRANCOIS PIZARRO.
JOSEPH PRIESTLY, Hazlit p. Nutter s. 1789.
REED, 1783.
DAVID RITTENHOUSE, Jarvis s. another, Edwin s.
JAMES RIVINGTON, original, three quarters.
ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON.
BENJAMIN RUSH, Sully p. Leney s.
JAMES SMITH, J. W. Jarvis p.
GEORGE WASHINGTON, several different engravings.
BNJAMIN WEST, Edwin s.

ART. VI.

NEW ENGLAND ALMANACKS.

1692, [imp.] Bos.
1695, Inc. Gatchell æt. 16.
1721, [Imp.]
1722, Daniel Travis, Bos.
1723, Daniel Travis, Bos.
1723, N. Whittemore, Bos.
1724. N. Whittemore, Bos.
1725, N. Whittemore, Bos.
1726. [N. Bowen,] Bos.
1727, Nat. Ames, Bos.
1728, [imp.]
1729, [N. Bowen,] Bos.
1731, [N. Bowen,] Bos.
1732, N. Ames, Bos.
1733, [N. Bowen,] Bos.
1734, N. Ames, Bos.
1735, N. Ames, Bos.
1737, N. Ames, Bos.
1738, N. Ames, Bos.
1739, N. Ames, Bos.
1740, N Ames, Bos.
1741, N. Ames, Bos.
1742, N. Ames, Bos.
1743, N. Ames, Bos.
1744, N. Ames, Bos.
1745, N. Ames, Bos.
1747, N. Ames, Bos.
1747, Wm. Nadir.
1748, N. Ames, Bos.
1749, N. Ames, Bos.
1750, N. Ames, Bos.
1751, N. Ames, Bos.
1752, N Ames, Bos.
1753, N. Ames, Bos.
1754, N. Ames, Bos.
1755, Roger Sherman, Bos.
1756, N. Ames, Bos.
1757, N. Ames, Bos.
1758, N. Ames, Bos.
1759, N. Ames, Ports.
1760, N. Ames, Bos.
1761, N. Ames, Bos.
1761, John Eddy, Bos.
1762, N. Ames, Ports.
1763, N. Ames, Bos.
1764, N. Ames, Ports.
1765, N. Ames, Bos.
1766, N. Ames, 2d. ed. Bos.
1767. Philopatria, Ports.
1768, Bickerstaff, Bos.
1769, Bickerstaff, Bos
1769, Mein and Fleeming, Bos.
1770, N. Ames, Bos.
1771, N. Ames, Bos.
1771, Philo Freeman, Salem.
1772, Philo Freeman, Salem.
1772, Bickerstaff, Bos.
1772, N. Ames, Bos.
1773, N. Ames, Bos.
1773, Bickerstaff, Bos.
1774, Bickerstaff, Bos.
1774, N Ames, Bos.
1775, Bickerstaff, Bos.
1775, N. Ames, Bos.
1775, N. Low, Bos.
1775, Mills and Hicks, Bos.
1776, Sam. Stearns, Worc.
1777, Bickerstaff, Bos.
1777, N Low Bos.
1778, Daniel George, N'b'yport.
1778, N. Low Bos.
1779, Daniel George, N'b'yport.
1779, Bickerstaff, [Benj. West.]
1780, Bickerstaff, Bos.
1780, N. Low, Bos.
1780, George, N'b'port.
1781, N. Low, Bos.
1782, Weatherwise, Bos.
1783, Weatherwise, Bos.
1784. Daniel Sewall, Ports.
1784, Thomas, Worc
1784, Bickerstaff, Bos-
1785, Daniel Sewall, Ports.
1786, Thomas Worc.
1786, Weatherwise, Plym.
1787, Bickerstaff, Bos.
1787, Pocket, Bos.
1787, Daniel George, Bos.
1788, Bickerstaff, Bos.
1789, Sam. Bullard, Bos.
1789, Hall, Bos.
1789, Osborne, Ports.
1790, Osgood Carleton, Bos.
1790, Thomas Worc.
1791, Sam. Stearns, Bos.
1791, Thomas, Worc.
1791, Osgood Carleton, Bos.
1792, Ladies', N. Hamp.
1792, Bickerstaff, Bos.
1793, Osgood Carleton, Bos.
1793, N. Low, Bos.
1794, N. Low, Bos.

1794, Osgood Carleton, Bos.
1794, Ladd's pocket, Dover.
1795, Thomas, Worc.
1796. R. B. Thomas, Bos.
1796, Daniel Sewall, Ports.
1797, R. B. Thomas, Bos.
1798, R. B. Thomas, Bos.
1798, Daniel Sewall, Ports.
1799, R. B. Thomas, Bos.
1800, R. B. Thomas. Bos.
1801, R. B. Thomas, Bos,
1802, Bickerstaff, Bos.
1802, R. B. Thomas, Bos.
1803, R. B. Thomas, Bos.
1805, N. Low, Bos.
1808, Daniel Sewall, Ports.
1811, Clergyman's, Bos.
[The foregoing fr. the collection made by Eleazer Alden, sen. of Bridgewater to 1772 and the remainder principally fr. that of Joshua Brackett of Portsmouth. Duplicates of many are on file.]

ART. VII.

MANUSCRIPTS.

ALDEN, TIMOTHEUS, *Portsmouth, etc.* Oratio Hebraica, de aboriginibus Nov-Angliæ, quam, 1792, in sacello Harvardino habuit.

—— Oratio Latina, de linguis orientalibus, in sacello Harvardino habita, octavo kal. Sept. 1793.

—— Oratio Syriaca, de sublimitate naturæ in America, habita in comitiis academicis Cantab. Nov-Angl. dec. sept. kal. Aug. 1794.

ALEXANDER, JAMES, *New-York,* Journal kept by, surveyor general of New-Jersey during the execution of the commission for running the division line bet. N. J. and N. Y. cum multis aliis. fol.

ALEXANDER, WILLIAM, *New-Jersey, New-York,* Appearance of the transit of Venus at Baskenridge in N. J. 3 June, 1769.

—— [A large coll. of papers, which belonged to the late lord Sterling, was presented to the N. Y. his. soc. in the summer of 1813, by the heirs of his lordship, among which are many original letters written by Washington, Dearborn, Heath, Sulivan, A. St. Clair, H. Clinton, A. Ferguson, R. H. Harrison, Mifflin, W. Franklin, J. Monroe, A. Clark, J. T. Kempe, S. Morris, Gage, Kennedy, J. Rivington, R. H. Morris, Stark, Enon, B. Tupper, E. Walbridge, T. Pickering, Hand, J. Trumbull, R. Morris, Knox, P. Schuyler, J. M. Scott. B. Franklin, W. Thompson, W. Burnet, J. Witherspoon, M'Dougal, E. Dayton, J. Duane, W. Maxwell, De Marbon, Greene, R. Izard, C. Townsend, Brissot De Warville, Miranda, et al. fr. 1756 to 1783. These documents, when arranged and bound, will make about ten vols.]

BARCLAY, HENRY, Register of baptisms, marriages, communicants, and funerals at Fort Hunter, fr. 1735 to 1745, 4.

BONECHEA, DOMINGO DE, Descripcion de las islas del occeano Pacifico, etc. por Don, 1772 y 1774.

BUCHANAN, JAMES, student at Marischall Coll. Aberdeen, Synopsis of pneumatology, moral phil. and logic, taken at the lectures of James Beattie, prof. begun 5 Nov. 1766, finished 13 Ap. 1767, 4. 549 pages.

BURGHER's oath at Glasgow, in Scotland.

CENSUS of the inhabitants of the city and county of N. Y. taken by John T. Bainbridge, assistant to the marshal, col. Aquila Giles, for 1800, 4.

CLINTON, DE WITT, *New-York,* Ora. bef. the N. Y. His. soc. 1811.

COMMITTEE of correspondence in the city of N. Y. Proceedings of, fr. 16 May, 1774, to 16 Nov. 1774, fol. 55 pp.

COOPER, SAMUEL, *Boston,* Diary for 1753.

CORTLANDT, STEPHEN VAN, *New-York,* Acc. book fr. 1695 to 1698, fol.

CUNNINGHAM, WADDEL, claiming to